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ÉTIENNE DOLET

The Martyr of the Renaissance

1508-1546

A BIOGRAPHY

BY

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE

M.A., OXON.; HON. LL.D., VICT.

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

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PREFACE

NINETEEN years have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of this book, which aroused considerable interest in Dolet, and met with a very favourable reception from the leading organs of the Press, not English only, but also American, French, and German. Having profited—I hope—by the friendly criticisms which the book then received, and having in the past nineteen years gathered a certain amount of new matter, I now issue this second edition thoroughly revised and corrected, and embodying such fresh materials as have come to my knowledge. But although I have found in the original edition a considerable number of trifling and verbal errors, some of the press, others of the author, all of which are, I hope, corrected in this new edition, and though I have been able to add important and interesting additional matter, I have not discovered any material error of fact, nor any reason for altering any of the views I expressed in the original volume, as to Dolet, his opinions, writings, or the causes of his misfortunes.

WITHDRAWN

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The most important of the additions to this volume are, first, the Act of Association, or Partnership between Dolet and Helayn Dulin, as printers, which, besides giving us other information, lets us know how Dolet obtained the capital with which to commence business ; and secondly, the Documents relating to the arrest of Dolet at Troyes in 1543, and his subsequent removal to Paris, which clear up several hitherto obscure points in this period of his life. The Act of Association and these Documents are curious and interesting, and I have accordingly printed them in full, as far as they can be deciphered, in the Appendices to this volume. In 1881, M. O. Douen wrote two articles in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme*, in which he controverted my view of the religious opinions of Dolet, and I have given at some length (pp. 493-95) my reasons for adhering to the view I originally held and expressed on this point.

The Bibliographical Appendix has been partly re-written, and, I think, considerably improved, although somewhat condensed. I am now able to enumerate eighty-four books as printed by Dolet, having discovered the existence of three since 1880, while on the other hand two volumes which I then attributed to his press I have ascertained were not printed by him. Copies of forty-five of the books are in my own possession, while there are only nine out of the eighty-four of which I am unable to refer to a copy as now or lately existing. I have also discovered several additional

reprints of his more popular books, and also one book edited by him for Sebastian Gryphius. Much of the bibliographical and descriptive matter which was in the edition of 1880 is omitted, but all this, together with considerable corrections and many additions, will be found in the Bibliography prefixed to the French translation of the work by M. Casimir Stryienski, Professor of the University of France, published at Paris by the Librairie Fischbacher in the year 1886. The book in its French dress met with a very cordial reception, and one result of the attention thus called to Dolet was, that in 1889, a statue of him was erected at the cost of the Municipality of Paris, in the Place Maubert, where he met with his death.

My thanks are due to M. Stryienski for undertaking the search in the National Archives at Paris, resulting in the discovery of the documents relating to Dolet's arrest at Troyes in 1543, and for obtaining a transcript of them, and revising the proofs of these documents.[1] I have to thank Mr. W. Stebbing for the assistance he has rendered me in reference to some passages of Dolet's Latin compositions; but my thanks are especially due to Mr. John Cree, without whose aid it would have been impossible—

[1] M. Stryienski was also so good as to cause the documents comprised in the *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, published by M. Taillandier in 1836, to be compared and collated with the originals, with the satisfactory result that the omissions and errors, although fairly numerous, are so unimportant, being almost entirely confined to errors of spelling, that I have made very little use of them.

owing to my long and still continuing illness—for the book to have appeared in anything like a correct and satisfactory form. I am indebted to him for many corrections of clerical and printer's errors in the first edition, for the correcting of the proofs of the present edition, for suggestions as to many notes, and for the compilation of the present Index.

Ribsden, Windlesham,
August 1899.

PREFACE

TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION

In offering to the public the result of the scanty leisure of the past eight years, I am fully sensible of its deficiencies, but the difficulty of the task which I have undertaken may perhaps be admitted as an extenuating circumstance, if it does not altogether relieve me from censure.

England possesses hardly any materials for writing the life of a French scholar of the first half of the sixteenth century. Rich as the British Museum is in many departments, it is singularly deficient in the French and Franco-Latin books of this period. But if this is generally the case, it is especially so in reference to Étienne Dolet, whose own works are among the rarest writings of the time, and the other contemporary authorities for his life are only one degree less so.[1] Of many of the books cited in this volume, which I have had to refer to, and in some cases to read through, more than once, no copies are to be found in England. Of some, a copy does not even exist in the

[1 Since this sentence was written, the British Museum has added largely to its collection of books printed by Dolet. 1899.]

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the obstacles in my way have therefore been great, when for the purpose of solving a difficulty, of verifying a reference, or of acquiring a new fact, a journey to Paris, Lyons, or Toulouse has been needful. But I can at least say, without fear of contradiction, that this book adds much to what has been hitherto known about the life and works of Étienne Dolet, that it supplements in many important particulars the lives which have already appeared of him, that it contains a much more nearly complete list than has before been given of the books printed by him, and that it presents for the first time to the English reader any account whatever of the man.

The name of Étienne Dolet is all but unknown in this country. A meagre and always inaccurate account of him in our general biographical dictionaries, a few notices by Jortin in his *Life of Erasmus* and in his *Tracts*, and by Greswell in his *View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*, two or three references, appreciative though (almost inevitably) not quite correct in the writings of Mr. [Sir] Walter Besant, a page full of inaccuracies in a recent history of French literature, form, with the articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (which I proceed to notice) almost the whole of the references to Dolet in English books. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794 will be found some interesting letters on his life, his writings, and his opinions, arising out of the notice of him in Jortin's tracts, and though they contain no new information, yet being written with fairness and good feeling, they will be read with interest, an interest which will be extended

to translations, though of no great literary merit, of two odes of Dolet,[1] which will be found in vols. lxii. and lxiv. But I do not know of any reference to Dolet or any account of him in an English book which has not many inaccuracies.

It cannot be expected that this biography will attract many readers. Its only interest is in its subject-matter, and there are few who will care to wade through a somewhat long record of the life of a scholar and printer of the sixteenth century, who was not directly connected with and did not play any important part in the political or religious movements of the time; but there are probably some whose interest in the history of literature, or whose sympathy with the unhappy fate of a man of learning and talent, will induce to turn over the pages of this narrative.

In his native country the name of Dolet is better known. It has been the special subject of two books, of many articles and essays, and of innumerable references, yet all of them wanting in accuracy and leaving much to be desired. The only really original biography which has as yet appeared is that of Maittaire, who has devoted to Dolet more than a hundred pages of the third volume of his *Annales Typographici*. He has there collected every passage which he could find in the writings of Dolet where the latter speaks of himself, and every other reference known to him in any contemporary author, and his pages have always been and must continue to be the basis of all subsequent biographies of Dolet. But the work of Maittaire is only a collection of extracts and remarks heaped together

[1] One of these odes is on the death of Erasmus (see *post*, p. 250), the other is addressed to Vida.

without any order or arrangement, and being written in Latin has attracted few readers other than professed scholars. In 1779, Née de la Rochelle printed his *Vie de Dolet*, a work of merit and interest. It is, however, a very brief and dry narrative, being little more than Maittaire's materials arranged and translated into French, together with an enumeration of a few books printed by Dolet which were before unknown. Née de la Rochelle admits that he has made great use of the researches of Maittaire ; indeed he says that he has only endeavoured to advance further a labour which the latter had commenced.

To Maittaire and Née de la Rochelle I must acknowledge the greatest obligations. Much as I hope to have added to what is contained in their books, I should probably have found it hopeless to attempt a biography of Dolet without the assistance of the great number of facts collected by the one and arranged by the other. But neither of them was able to offer any sufficient explanation, or even to give any accurate information respecting the trials, the sentences, or the death of Dolet ; and it was reserved for M. Taillandier to discover in the criminal registers of the Parliament of Paris the letters of remission and pardon granted to Dolet by Francis I. in 1543, which throw a flood of light upon these matters, and which with some other pieces were printed by Techener in 1836 under the title of *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, with an *Avant Propos* of much interest by M. Taillandier.

In 1857, M. Joseph Boulmier (who in 1855 had written an article on the same subject in the *Revue de Paris*)

published his *Estienne Dolet, sa Vie, ses Œuvres, son Martyre* (Paris, *Aubry*); and perhaps some apology is needed for a new biography of Dolet, when one has so recently been written by a Frenchman. Of M. Boulmier and his book I wish to speak with all respect; I have read and re-read it with much interest, and with much sympathy for the enthusiasm of the writer, who sees in his hero *Le Christ de la pensée libre . . . Prométhée contre Jupiter!* His book is (as he himself calls it) a *dithyramb*, displaying on every page an exaggerated admiration for his hero, which renders him entirely blind to his faults. He sees in Dolet a man of the noblest character and the loftiest genius, and avows that he writes as an advocate and that Dolet is his client, and he warns his readers at the outset that they are not to look for an impartial history from him. But M. Boulmier does not seem to me to admit as fully as might have been expected his indebtedness to Née de la Rochelle, from whose pages much of his work is transcribed.[1] He has added little to the narrative of his predecessor, except what is afforded by the *Procès*. His list of the books printed by Dolet is certainly the most nearly complete that has hitherto appeared. He has added five (which had, however, previously appeared in Brunet) to those mentioned by Née de la Rochelle, but, except in one or two instances, he cites no authorities for the existence of the books, but has contented himself with copying the titles from the *Vie de Dolet* or from Brunet's *Manuel*.

[1] I am glad to be able to say that in his translations from the writings of Dolet, M. Boulmier seems to me to have been successful. They are sufficiently faithful, and are marked generally by vigour and elegance.

In addition to these books, the account of Dolet and his works contained in the *Bibliothèques* of Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, in Nicéron, in Goujet, and in Bayle, his life by Didot in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, those in *La France Protestante* of MM. Haag, and in *Les Hommes Illustres de l'Orléanais*,[1] all furnish important details. Every one of these books is, however, full of inaccuracies, and in no one of them is any attempt made to offer a sufficient or satisfactory explanation of his misfortunes and fate. His own writings must always be the foundation of every narrative of his life. They are full of autobiographical matter, and I believe that a lengthened and repeated study of those of his writings that I have been able to meet with, and of many other contemporary or nearly contemporary books which will be found cited in this book (and of several of which only a single copy is known), has enabled me to add much hitherto unknown, which seems to me to be of interest, bearing upon Dolet's life, and to explain at least in part what has hitherto appeared inexplicable. But in addition to printed books, I have been fortunate enough to find in the manuscript correspondence and poems of Jean de Boyssone[2] preserved in the public library of Toulouse, a mine of interest and information respecting Dolet and his

[1] The life of Dolet in *Les Hommes Illustres de l'Orléanais* is based on a MS. life by Dom Gerou, contained in the Orléans Library. The MS. is, however, merely a compilation from printed and well-known sources.

[2] For an account of these, see p. 82. The correspondence includes five letters written by, and four to Dolet, in addition to those which the latter printed in the *Orationes Duæ*. Many others of the letters either refer directly to Dolet or to persons and things of interest in connection with his life.

friends. Two hasty perusals of these manuscripts and the extracts which I have made have certainly not exhausted all matters of interest, and it has been a source of regret to me that I have been unable to have constantly at hand, or to consult without long journeys, these manuscripts, as well as the unique copies of several books which exist at Lyons, Bordeaux, Orléans, Dôle, Roanne, and elsewhere.

Many books printed and edited, and some entirely written by Dolet, have wholly perished, and no trace of any copy can be found. Of others a single copy exists in some public library in France ; of some I myself possess the only copy known, while there remain several in the possession of collectors in France, which no opportunity has been afforded me of seeing. In the Bibliographical Appendix to this volume, perhaps the part of the most real value, there is contained at least a more nearly complete and a more accurate list of the books printed by Dolet than has previously appeared. Née de la Rochelle mentions forty-nine, M. Boulmier fifty-three. In this book the number is brought up to eighty-three, of fifty-one of which I have seen and indicate the locality of copies, and of each of the remaining thirty-two the authorities on which it is inserted in the list are given.

On two points an explanation, and perhaps an apology, is needed. Of several of the friends and contemporaries of Dolet, notably Jean de Boyssone, Jean de Pins, and Matthieu Gripaldi, I have given what may be thought unnecessarily long accounts, while I have neglected others of far more importance. It would have been easy for me greatly to have increased the size of this book (already too

large) by notices of and digressions on Marot, Rabelais, and other eminent persons, whose lives were to some extent connected with that of Dolet, but while I have endeavoured to neglect nothing which can have any real bearing upon my hero and his history, I have sought to avoid whatever could easily be found elsewhere, and accordingly such notices only are given of those with whom Dolet came in contact as are necessary for the proper understanding of the narrative, except as to persons where the common books of reference supply either no information, or none that is adequate. In these cases I have ventured to insert detailed notices of some length.

Had I endeavoured, after the fashion of many modern writers of biography, to interweave with the life of Dolet the general history of literature and scholarship in France during the period in question, I might have made a more popular book, but it would have been one with no special *raison d'être*, and for writing which I had no special qualifications.

The other point on which an excuse is needed is that learned men are sometimes spoken of by their French, sometimes by their Latinised names. This has not arisen from carelessness. I should have preferred uniformly to cite them by their native names, and I have generally done so. There are, however, a few persons (*e.g.* Villanovanus, Scaliger, Zazius, Nizolius) who so usually style themselves by their Latinised names, that any others would seem strange and affected ; and it has sometimes happened that, for the sake of harmony, other writers are with them referred to by their Latinised names.

To the chronology of the life of Dolet I have given great attention. Every account of him which has hitherto appeared contains errors as to dates, some of which will be found to be specifically noticed and corrected, but in no case has a date been inserted in this book without careful consideration, and wherever it is found to differ from that given by any other writer cited, the change has not been made until after much thought. It would have considerably lengthened the book had I in every case expressed the reasons which had induced me to differ from my predecessors in matters of chronology. Every one acquainted with the history of this period will know the great difficulty in ascertaining the years of events which are dated in January, February, or March. I cannot hope that I have always been successful in arriving at a right conclusion, but if any errors of chronology are found, at least they do not arise from carelessness. The dates given in this book are always, unless otherwise expressed, *new style*, the year being treated as beginning on the first of January.

I cannot conclude this preface without acknowledging the obligations I am under to M. Baudrier, President of the Court of Appeal of Lyons. With a kindness and a generosity which have made me for ever his debtor, M. Baudrier placed at my disposal the interesting chapter (still unfortunately in manuscript) on Dolet which he had written, part of a contemplated work on the Lyonese printers of the sixteenth century, his list of the books printed by Dolet, his copy of Née de la Rochelle's *Vie de Dolet*, with the author's manuscript additions and corrections, and he has assisted me in many other ways. I should have been entirely ignorant

of the existence of two books in my Bibliographical list, and should have been unable to see copies of two more, had it not been for his kindness. If M. Baudrier, having devoted many years to the subject of the books printed at Lyons in the sixteenth century, had felt unwilling to offer information collected with much expenditure of time and labour to a stranger, whose use of it would to some extent forestall the President's own work, I could neither have felt surprise nor had cause of complaint. I have from time to time expressed in the notes to this book the specific obligations I am under to M. Baudrier.[1]

There are in existence two woodcuts of the sixteenth century purporting to be portraits of Étienne Dolet. Of these, one is exactly reproduced on the title-page of this volume. It appears in the first edition of *La Prosopographie* of Du Verdier (Lyon, 1573[2]). The book was printed only twenty-seven years after Dolet's death, by Anthony Gryphius (the son of his old friend Sebastian), who as a youth must frequently have seen Dolet; and at the time it appeared, there must have been many persons living at Lyons who well remembered him. The baldness and the prematurely aged appearance of the face agree with the description given by Odonus hereinafter quoted, written when Dolet was only twenty-seven years of age, but when he was taken by Odonus for near forty.[3]

[1 M. Baudrier died on June 17, 1884. His son, M. Julien Baudrier, is now engaged in giving to the public the valuable collections made by his father relating to Lyonese printers. Three volumes have already appeared, but I am sorry to say they do not include either Dolet or Gryphius. 1899.]

[2] In the edition of 1605, though much augmented in many respects, the portrait and notice of Dolet are omitted.

[3] No indication is given by M. Boulmier of the source of the portrait

The other portrait is one engraved by Tobias Stimmer for Reusner's *Icones* (Basileæ, 1589), and is certainly a mere fancy sketch, bearing no resemblance to that of Du Verdier.

At the end of this book will be found the mark of Dolet referred to as within a floriated border. The initial letters of the different chapters are with one exception reproductions of the woodcut initials used by Dolet. A, D, L, O are from his *De Officio Legati*, G, N, T from his *De Imit. Cic. adv. Floridum Sabinum*, B and H from the *De Ant. Statu Burgundiæ* of Paradin, I is an initial letter of Seb. Gryphius copied from one in his edition of the *Adagia Erasmi* (1529, fol.).

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which is prefixed to his *Estienne Dolet;* but in the advertisements of the book it was described as *gravé d'apres l'original de la Bibliothèque Imperiale*. But no such portrait of Dolet is to be found in the Bibliothèque. M. Boulmier's portrait is more or less a fancy portrait, clearly based on that of Du Verdier, but much altered, especially in the expression, and arranged in a fancy border. Indeed, the late M. Aubry, the publisher of the book, informed me that such was the case, and that he had adapted the border from another portrait of the sixteenth century.

Darley Dale,
June 1880.

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ÉTIENNE DOLET

Sit thou a patient looker on ;
Judge not the play before the play be done.
Her plot has many changes ; every day
Speaks a new scene, the last act crowns the play.

QUARLES.

In a state of society so corrupted as that in which we live, the best companions and instructors are ancient books.—T. L. PEACOCK.

So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had gleaned : and it was about an ephah of barley.—Ruth ii. 17.

And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired : but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.—2 Maccabees xv. 38.

CHAPTER I

Orleans and Paris

'There are but two events in history: the siege of Troy and the French Revolution.'—Lord Beaconsfield.

'Le monde est vide depuis les Romains.'—St. Just.

HE Renaissance was at once the precursor and the parent of the Revolution; a voice crying in that wilderness which mediæval Christianity had made of the world, crying against asceticism and against superstition; pleading for a restoration of the true, the real, the natural; proclaiming, though sometimes with stammering lips, the divinity of nature; preparing the way for the Revolution; and yet, like the Baptist of old, unconscious of what it was the forerunner. But at its commencement the Renaissance looked only for a revival of the spirit of classical antiquity—it may be of paganism—a restoration of the divinity, of the joyousness of nature, discerning little or perhaps nothing of that

steadfast faith in humanity, that eager aspiration after justice, that recognition of the equality of rights amongst all mankind, which it was reserved for the Revolution first to teach dogmatically.

Between Poggio or Valla (two of those who gave the greatest impetus to the Renaissance in its earlier stages) and Rabelais, in whom its work was complete, the distance at first seems immense, yet the chasm when bridged over by Erasmus almost disappears from view. But between Rabelais and Voltaire—the father of the Revolution certainly in one, and that not the least beneficial of its aspects—the distance seems, and perhaps really is, much greater. Yet they are united by Montaigne and Molière, and a close examination shows them to be really at one. Intense love of the human race, intense desire for its social and intellectual progress, intense hatred of hypocrisy, bigotry, superstition and ignorance, are to be found in both.

The revival of letters had produced a contempt for mediæval ideas, a disgust for the theological legends and superstitions of the Middle Ages, and at the same time an ardent thirst for that knowledge and culture which the classical writers could alone supply. But as there was little in the actual life, in the actual interests of the times, that was in harmony with the ideas of classical antiquity, utterly opposed as these ideas are to mediæval Christianity, it was form rather than substance that at first took the highest place. The students of the Renaissance, however, were not exclusively occupied with form. It is indeed sometimes said that the Renaissance gave birth to nothing. But surely this is not so. The Renaissance gave birth to mental freedom. It taught the true mode of looking at things and opinions. It revived the classical as opposed to the mediæval method of thought. It examined things as they are, and opinions according to their absolute truth or false-

hood, and not according as they are in accord or discord with authority and orthodoxy. It appealed *ab auctoritate ad rem;* and a system which was the parent of Erasmus and Rabelais, and a more remote ancestor of Molière and Voltaire, cannot be called unfruitful or unworthy of attention, whatever be the value at which we appraise its fruits.

That (except in Sadolet and perhaps in Erasmus) there was not in any of the men of the Renaissance either any recognition of Christianity, or even any consciousness of the need of religion as an element in human happiness or human goodness, was the fault of the times in which they lived and of the institutions which professed to inculcate this religion, and though this may diminish our respect for their doctrines, it ought not to take away from our admiration of the men themselves. To each of them, religion, Christianity, the Catholic Church, represented as it could not but represent, all that was odious, all that was opposed to freedom of thought, to freedom of action, all that in one aspect (the religious) was cruel and brutal, in another (the mundane) all that was degrading and immoral.

For mediæval Christianity, for the Catholic Church, and for the See of Rome itself, in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is impossible not to feel a certain sympathy and admiration, however little their doctrines and practices may commend themselves to our reason ; their aims were lofty and their influence on the whole beneficial. But the Church generally at the era of the Renaissance, and the French Church from that time to the Revolution, present absolutely no points for the approval of those of us who are in harmony with the spirit of the nineteenth century and have no sympathy with the so-called Catholic revival. Admiration for the lofty oratory of the great preachers, for the polemical skill of the leaders of the Gallican party, for the pious mysticism of the persecuted

Jansenists, we cannot fail to have, but it seems impossible to conceive of an institution more calculated to bring Christianity into disrepute, on the one hand among thoughtful men, on the other among the still larger class which is neither thoughtful nor reasonable, than the Church of France during the three centuries which preceded the Revolution.

The fact that during this period France produced an abundant crop of men and women who lived and died in the communion of the Church distinguished by those virtues and graces which Christianity specially claims as its own is not inconsistent with this opinion. Happily all Churches and sects have furnished, and will probably continue to furnish, abundant examples of men who are more and better than their belief. In the worst and most corrupt period of pagan Rome the philosophical historian could say, *Non adeo tam sterile seculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.*

But an institution which could sanction and applaud the burning of Berquin and Dolet, the massacre of the Huguenots, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the dragonnades of Languedoc, the judicial murders and horrible tortures of Calas and La Barre (not a century and a quarter since), is wholly out of harmony with and antagonistic to Christianity as I understand it.

Bossuet may be taken as the ablest and the most favourable representative of the Catholic Church of France. He could melt his audience to tears over Louise de la Vallière taking the veil. He could exalt the selfish and frivolous Henrietta Maria of England into a saint. His eloquent, noble, and harmonious language almost makes us believe, whilst reading it, that Louis XIV. was really the King after God's own heart, and prevents our feeling the absurdity—or the profanity—of the parallel which he draws between the character of the chancellor Le Tellier—who shed tears

of joy on sealing with his own hand the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and then repeated the *Nunc Dimittis*—and that of Jesus Christ! But Bossuet has no word of sympathy, apparently no thought, for the wretched and oppressed millions; in fact, as Vinet has remarked, 'during all that triumphal era the people escape our search.' For them at least the Church had no message.[1]

The paganism of the Renaissance was the natural outcome of the condition of the Catholic Church. When religion was wholly dissevered from morality, and so far from being treated as a rule of life, appeared to have no more connection with it than had the religion of the Romans in the days of the Empire, it is not to be wondered at that the restorers of letters, occupied with the great minds of antiquity, looked back with some fondness and regret to those more human and natural, and therefore, as it seemed to them, less injurious superstitions of paganism. With the Church itself, indeed, the earlier humanists had no quarrel. Devoted purely to the study of classical antiquity they contented themselves with simply ignoring and disbelieving her doctrines, and were well pleased to share in her dignities and revenues and to enjoy her protection. Bishops, cardinals, and even popes took part for some time in the enthusiasm, the triumphs, and the paganism of the Renaissance. From Nicolas V. to Leo X. the Church was the nursing mother of the new studies; and still later the pure paganism of Bembo, who would not read the Epistles of St.

[1] Great as was the genius, many as were the virtues of Bossuet, I prefer the Christianity (or non-Christianity) of Voltaire to that of the Eagle of Meaux, nor can I forget that his beak and claws displayed themselves not only in the flights of his pulpit oratory, or in his admirable denunciation of the variations of the Protestant Churches, but in the active persecution of Fénelon and in the warm approval which he gave to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the dragonnades of Languedoc.

Paul lest they should spoil his style, was no more a bar to his advancement in the Church than was the licentiousness —to use no harsher word—of the Capitolo del Forno to that of La Casa. The pagan revival for the cultivated, with the forms and formulæ of the Church for the vulgar, was what best suited the enlightened rulers of the Church in the latter half of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century. But, unfortunately for them, this was a state of things which could not continue. In Italy Savonarola, though with strict orthodoxy of doctrine, almost alone had dared to proclaim the uselessness of a faith which had no influence upon life, but with the flames that consumed him his influence disappeared. He had besides no sympathy for the classical revival, and it was reserved for the hardier races of the North, where religion had never been so completely dissevered from morality and action, to discover and declare that there was a practical side of humanistic studies. Even before Luther commenced his war against Rome, the scholars of the North, without adopting the classical paganism of Italy, but equally without any conscious hostility to the Church, had begun to question the expediency of the intellectual life and education of the people being given over to ignorant monks, and even to doubt whether the ecclesiastical revenues were always devoted to the best or most useful purposes. The monks were not slow to perceive whither the Renaissance was tending, and long before the Church in Italy had shown any symptoms of opposition to humanistic studies the ecclesiastics of Germany and the Netherlands were in arms. The writings of Erasmus, whilst ostentatiously orthodox as to theological dogmas, pointed to a state of things incompatible with the existing religious system, and immediately after the publication of the *Praise of Folly* in 1511 (if not earlier) that opposition of the Church to intellectual

progress, at least in Germany, the Low Countries, and France, commenced which has ever since continued. In Italy, indeed, the rulers of the Church, until awakened by the tidings of the preaching of Luther, were blind to the real tendency of the age; and even when roused so as to recognise and attempt to meet the danger, they must have the credit of still for some time seeking to encourage literature and learning provided no doctrine or practice of the Church was attacked.

Étienne Dolet, whose life I am about to narrate, was a child of the pure Italian Renaissance, more truly and thoroughly so than any other of the scholars and students whom France produced. Though constantly stated to have been an atheist, and probably condemned and burnt as such, his writings afford no ground for the general belief. He was no doubt a pagan of the school of Bembo and Longolius, and with them thought the religion of Cicero more suited to the man of culture than a system which held out for the worship or adoration of the faithful the wine of the marriage feast of Cana, the comb of the Virgin Mary, and the shield of St. Michael the archangel. Yet there is nothing in any of his writings inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church or disrespectful to her authority. He was no believer in, and indeed had no sort of sympathy with the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, and desired nothing better than to be allowed to pursue in freedom his literary studies relating to this world without troubling himself about the next, but he lived in a time and place especially unfortunate for one of his character. Half a century earlier, before the Church had awaked to the idea that intellectual progress of every kind was altogether subversive of her authority, he would have been hailed as one of the restorers of letters in France, would probably have become an ambassador, and possibly a cardinal.

He was born at Orléans in the year 1508, on the 3rd of

August, the day of the invention of the relics of the saint whose name he bore, the day on which, thirty-eight years later, he was to be added to the number of those men, some eminent for their genius and learning, some for their piety and moral excellence, some known only for their half-crazy yet harmless absurdities, whom religious bigotry, disguising itself under the cloak of Christian and Catholic orthodoxy, has brutally deprived of life. The place and year of his birth, as well as most of the details of the biography of his earlier years, we learn from his own writings. In the preface to his *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, addressed to Budé, and dated the 22nd of April 1536, he tells us that he was then twenty-seven years of age, and that he was sixteen when Francis I. was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia (24 Feb. 1525).[1] In the same volume of his *Commentaries*,[2] and in a poetic epistle to the Cardinal de Tournon,[3] as well as in many other places, he refers to Orléans as his birth-place. Of his family and parentage we know nothing with certainty, nor have his admirers been able to discover anything which throws light upon them, or to connect him in any way with the very few persons who are known to have

[1] Following M. Boulmier and Dolet's other biographers, in the first edition of this work I gave 1509 as the year of Dolet's birth, but in that case he would have been only fifteen and a half at the date of the battle of Pavia, and thirty-six and a half at the date of the preface to the *Commentaries*. It may be noted that in the pardon of Francis I. (*Procès d'Estienne Dolet*) dated June, 1543, his age is stated as 'de trente-six à trente-sept ans ou environ.'

The authority for the actual day of his birth is Le Laboureur, who in the *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau* (vol. i. p. 348), after quoting Beza's epitaph on Dolet, appends these words, 'Stephanus Doletus Aurelius Gallus, die Sancto Stephano sacro et natus et vulcano devotus, in Malbertina area Lutetiæ 3 Augusti, 1546.' These words, however, are not in either of the editions of Beza's *Juvenilia*, in which the ode appears.

[2] Col. 938, and *Orationes Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 105.

[3] *Carmina*, Book ii. No. lviii.

borne the same surname.[1] There seems indeed to have been some mystery about the matter, though we may at once dismiss the absurd story first narrated in print by Amelot de la Houssaye.[2] 'It was said at that time,' he writes, 'that Dolet was the natural son of King Francis and an Orléans damsel named Cureau, but that he was not acknowledged on account of a story which was told the king of the lady's intimacy with a certain courtier.' For at the date of Dolet's birth Francis, then Duke of Valois, was not quite fourteen years of age.[3] But while we reject this fable we cannot accept with confidence Dolet's own statement as to his parentage. In his second letter to Budé he says, 'I was born at Orléans, in how honourable and indeed distinguished

[1] Martinus Dolet Parisiensis is the author of a very rare Latin poem, *De parta ab invictissimo Gallorum Rege Ludovico duodecimo in Maximilianum Ducem victoria cum dialogo pacis . . . apud Joannem Gourmontium* (s.a. but about 1510), 4to, 56 pp. Besides the poem and dialogue mentioned in the title there are several short poems, one of which is addressed to the author's brother, *ad eruditissimum fratrem suum Matheum Dolet*. This Mathieu Dolet appears to have been a clerk in the Criminal Records Office of the Parliament of Paris. He is mentioned by the continuer of the *Annales* of Nicole Gilles (Paris, Oudin Petit, vol. ii. fol. 128) under the date 17 Feb. 1523 [1524], as having read before the people the pardon granted by Francis I. to Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint Vallier, who had been condemned to be beheaded. 'Christofle Dolet de Sens transporte à Jehan Cousin ung jardin 17 Janvier 1533,' *La France Protestante*, 2ème edit. vol. iv. col. 851. Except these three I have not found any persons bearing the name of Dolet until a later period. These later Dolets are noticed in a subsequent chapter of this book. There was a Guillaume *Doulet* in 1460, 'auditeur des comptes' to the Duke of Orléans, whose name is signed to a receipt of that date, described in the Catalogue of Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1873-4, No. 4845.

[2] *Mémoires historiques politiques et littéraires*, vol. ii. p. 33. See also *Patiniana*, p. 37.

[3] Bayle, Maittaire, and Boulmier all treat this fable as it deserves. M. Boulmier (p. 6) remarks, 'L'histoire s'est déjà montrée assez libérale envers François Ier quand elle a cru devoir le gratifier du surnom de Père des lettres : il est inutile d'en faire encore le père des littérateurs.'

a position among my fellow-citizens I leave those to speak of who place virtue below birth.' And in his second oration in answer to Pinache, who had reproached him with the obscurity of his family and the lowness of his birth, he says, 'I was born of parents who were in no mean or low position, but in an honourable and indeed distinguished station; the circumstances of my family were flourishing, and if my parents possessed neither antiquity of race, nobility of birth, the dignity of high rank, nor those other advantages which are rather gifts of fortune than such as entitle their possessors to praise, yet they enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and passed their lives to the close happily and void of offence. It may indeed be that they neither attained very exalted rank nor became in any other way conspicuous, but they lived as eminent citizens among their fellows, nor were civic honours wanting to them.'

To what extent this is strictly true we do not know, but certain it is that rumours were current of a very different nature, and knowing as we do the gross exaggeration which Dolet seems to have been unable to avoid in speaking of himself and his own merits, we may not unreasonably hesitate to accept his statement as to his parents as absolutely true. Two odes of Voulté, written it is true after his quarrel with Dolet, speak in very disparaging terms of the latter's father, and certainly imply that he had suffered death at the hands of the public executioner.

In the one Voulté says it is not strange that Dolet seemed the worst of men, for that he was born of a father like himself, and that it would be very unusual for the son of a bad father to be himself an excellent man :[1]—

> Quod sis pessimus omnium virorum
> Res est non nova, nam tuo parenti es

[1] *Vulteii Hendecasyllabi* (Paris, 1538), fol. 91.

Natus ipse simillimus : sed esset
Certe res nova, si mali parentis
Esses filius optimus virorum.
Quod vulgi esse frequens in ore suevit
Id falsum bonitas tua approbaret :
Patrem nec sequeretur ipsa proles.

In the other, equally clearly intended for Dolet, and addressed '*In quendam ingratum*,'[1] after prophesying for him all kinds of evil and a violent death, he continues,

Et superstites si
Parentes tibi forte qui adfuissent
Dum spectacula talia exhiberes,
Et jussas lueres miselle pœnas,
Exemplo miseri tui parentis
Nonne illos oculi tui impudici
Vidissent tibi proximos ? crucisque
Testes nonne tuæ tui fuissent ?

A violent death in those days, even were it at the hands of the public executioner, does not necessarily imply any great amount of moral turpitude in the accused ; and we can hardly imagine, had there been anything especially disgraceful in the character of his father, that Dolet would have so ostentatiously and constantly called attention to the fact that he was a native of Orléans, and treated himself as a citizen of no mean city. That his parents had died before we find him at Toulouse in 1532 we may infer with tolerable certainty. Whether, however, he owed it to them or to other relations and friends, certain it is that those to whose charge he was committed in early life gave him a liberal education, and allowed his taste for letters to have full play, instead of forcing upon him the sordid cares to which most of their class were necessarily devoted. But at this time substantial inducements to literary pursuits were not wanting.

[1] *Vulteii Hendecasyllabi* (Paris, 1538), fol. 9.

During the period of the Renaissance—the Renaissance of which Dolet was the child, the panegyrist, and the martyr—learning was a ladder leading to every kind of advancement. The power of the pen had successfully rivalled that of the sword ; it had raised Tommaseo Parentucelli to the highest place in Christendom ; it had made Aretin feared, caressed, and bribed by all the princes of Europe ; it had given to Erasmus a reputation both in extent and in kind unknown to the world since the Augustan age of Rome. Nor were lesser incitements to the pursuit of letters wanted. The Universities had awaked from the dreams of scholastic philosphy and theology, and were everywhere demanding as professors men who could teach the new learning which the students were so eager to profit by, while the embassies which in the last few years of the fifteenth century had so enormously increased in number and in frequency, furnished another means of employment for the same class of men. We can scarcely find a literary man from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century who had not been engaged in some diplomatic negotiations either as ambassador or as secretary.

The first twelve years of Dolet's life were passed at Orléans, where he received an education which he speaks of more than once in terms of high praise, describing himself in these years as '*liberaliter educatum*.' Yet it is certain that he did not intend by this expression that he advanced far in his studies, for in the words immediately following he tells us that he then went to Paris, where he received the first rudiments of (Latin) literature.[1]

He went to Paris at twelve years of age, and remained for five years ; it is there that for us his life begins. It

[1] 'Gennabi duodecim annos liberaliter educatum excepit Parisiorum Lutetia ubi primarum literarum rudimenta posui.'—Letter to Budé, in *Orat. Duæ in Thol.* p. 105.

was there that he imbibed that love of Cicero which was so marked a feature in his character and his writings, and which he shared with so many other scholars of the Renaissance. The worship of the Ciceronians for their idol—a worship (as the anti-Ciceronians said) rather of form and style than of matter—seems to us indeed at first sight exaggerated and even absurd. Yet few would be found to deny the advantages that modern literature has derived from the study of Cicero, and especially how much the style of the best French authors is indebted to him. If, however, we consider the matter more closely and impartially we shall cease to wonder at and shall sympathise with the Ciceronians, not indeed with any desire to worship at their altars, or with any risk of falling into the absurdities of Nosoponus, but at least with a recognition that among the religions of the past the Ciceronian is one of the least vulgar superstitions, and one which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could hardly avoid commending itself to the enlightened and cultivated man. For in truth it was a real worship, a cultus, not a mere literary opinion. The plenary inspiration of Cicero was held as absolutely by Longolius, by Hortensio Lando,[1] by Dolet, and by the Ciceronians generally as is a similar doctrine applied to other writings in our own day held by men whose learning and virtues entitle their opinions to the highest respect. 'What can I better follow,' writes Dolet in explaining a word in his *Commentaries*, 'than the exposition of it given

[1] In a letter of J. A. Odonus to Gilbert Cousin (*Opera G. Cognati*, vol. i. p. 313) he says of Lando: 'Hoc nobis repetebat apophthegma; alii alios legunt, mihi solus Christus et Tullius placet, Christus et Tullius solus satis est; sed interim Christum nec in manibus habebat nec in libris; an in corde haberet, Deus scit. Hoc nos ex ejus ore scimus, illum cum in Galliam confugeret, neque vetus neque novum Testamentum secum tulisse pro itineris ac miseriæ solatio, sed familiares Epistolas M. Tullii.'

by the father of the Latin tongue, Cicero himself? Therefore without any interpretation of mine receive certain examples of our god Cicero which will place the meaning of the word before your eyes.'[1] Even Erasmus, bitterly as the Ciceronians attacked him for treating their deity and his great disciple Longolius with disrespect, and whose sound common sense kept him from the follies of the more devout adherents of this cultus, recognised the eloquence of Marcus Tullius as being divine rather than human ;[2] and in his *Colloquies* he says,[3] 'While the first place in point of authority is ever due to the Holy Scriptures, I do sometimes meet with sayings in the writings of the ancient heathens, even in the poets, of so pure and holy and divine a nature that I cannot help feeling that some gracious power was at work in the soul when they wrote them. And it may possibly be that the spirit of Christ was shed forth over a wider space than we generally suppose. Many truly are to be ranked among the saints who do not find a place in our lists of them. I freely acknowledge to my friends my own feeling, which is this. I cannot read the writings of Cicero on Old Age or Friendship, or his works entitled *De Officiis* and *Tusculanæ Quæstiones,* without sometimes pausing to kiss the page and to think with reverence on that holy soul inspired by a celestial deity.'

Cicero was one of the first and greatest idols of the men of the Renaissance. Few were able to read, fewer still to appreciate, Greek literature and Greek philosophy. Plautus and Terence, although popular, were looked on as light and frivolous writers. Besides, really to understand them required a greater knowledge of the usages of classical antiquity than was generally possessed. Livy and Cæsar

[1] 2 *Comm.* col. 917. The marginal note is, *Cicero in lingua Latina deus Doleti.*

[2] Epist. 1430.

[3] Convivium religiosum.

were left to soldiers and statesmen, while Tacitus, lamenting over the past and looking gloomily to the future, could hardly have been in sympathy with a renascent age. The day of Horace was yet to come; the calm good sense, the unruffled cheerfulness, the thorough content of the disciple of Aristippus, was altogether opposed to the spirit of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. The charm of Cicero's style, his general tone of intelligence, his sensible but shallow and commonplace philosophy, his scholarly contempt for the ignorant, his sometimes acute and always polished sarcasms, his utter disbelief in and disregard (except so far as propriety required) for the superstitions and creeds not only of the vulgar but of the orthodox, and even his ill-concealed vanity, wrapped up but not disguised by the pomp of flowing and well-chosen words, in short, his defects as well as his merits all contributed to his influence.

Five years were passed by Dolet in Paris, but of the details of his life there we know little. The only fact that he has told us, except as to his Ciceronian studies, is that when sixteen years of age he studied rhetoric under Nicolas Bérauld,[1] himself a native of Orléans, and reputed one of the greatest masters of eloquence and of Latin scholarship of the time, and, in the judgment of Erasmus, one of the pearls and stars of France. Like many others of the scholars of the Renaissance, the man was greater than his books. 'His conversation,' says Erasmus, 'was more than his writings.' 'Etiam nunc,' he continues, 'audire mihi videor linguam illam explanatam ac volubilem suaviterque tinnientem et blande canoram vocem.' His books have indeed passed into utter oblivion, and perhaps have had no influence in the world's history, yet the man himself can never be without interest for the student, not only of literature, as the

[1] 'Nicolaus Beraldus quo præceptore annos natus sedecim Rhetorica Lutetiæ didici.'—*Comm.* vol. i. col. 1158.

friend and correspondent of Erasmus, but of history, as the tutor of the three great Colignys, the Admiral, the Cardinal, and the General, who sowed in their minds the seeds of those principles which have made their names so illustrious in the annals of the French Protestants. Suspected, and not without reason, of a sympathy with the reformers, Bérauld was hated by Béda and the bigots; but he always acted with such prudence that he afforded no handle for his persecution. In fact, although many eminent French Protestants owed to him their first acquaintance with evangelical truth, like others of his contemporaries who sympathised with the reformed doctrines, he had no objection to the practices or forms of the Church of Rome, and no desire to separate from her, but remained in her communion until his death. Like Erasmus he possessed that toleration and breadth which was no less distasteful to Calvin than to Béda.[1]

But though we know little of Dolet's life during these five years, there can be no doubt that the influence of Bérauld on his character, his opinions, and his whole future life was great. Bérauld was an enthusiastic Latin and Greek student, a devoted Ciceronian, a friend of and sympathiser with every kind of intellectual progress: with him Dolet formed a friendship which lasted for many years, as we find Bérauld among the friends who in 1537 met to congratulate Dolet on his pardon. During these five years he tells us he assiduously cultivated his intellect

[1] Of Bérauld we have no good biography. The best is that contained in Haag's *La France Protestante*. Several of his letters are printed (for the first time) in the excellent work of A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue Française*. There is no life of him in *Les Hommes illustres de l'Orléanais* (Orléans, 1852), although the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* refers to that work as one of the authorities for its meagre biography of Bérauld.

and learned to think ; he gave himself up more especially to the study of Cicero,[1] and before he left Paris he had conceived the idea of and begun to plan, and even to collect materials for, his great work, the *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*.

[1] Letter to Budé, *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 105.

CHAPTER II

Padua

Once remotest nations came
To adore that sacred flame,
When it lit not many a hearth
On this cold and gloomy earth.

Shelley.

OLET was now eighteen years of age, and his thoughts naturally turned to that country which, ever since the close of the Roman Republic, the inhabitants of the rest of Europe have desired to visit, but which was then in a special degree and for special reasons the goal of all students. Art, science, and literature flourished in Italy to an extent which rendered it not unreasonable in the Italians to look on the nations of the North and West as barbarous. There was scarcely a scholar who attained eminence who did not seek to pass some time in one of the

Universities of Italy.[1] Padua, Bologna, Pavia, were all crowded with French and German students; but it was at Padua that they were found in the greatest number. The University was then at the height of its popularity; in literature, philosophy, and medicine no University could compare with it. Founded two hundred years before, its reputation had been gradually rising, though suffering temporary eclipse when the fortune of war and the change of masters had occasioned it to close its lecture-rooms. Early in the fifteenth century it had come into the possession of the Venetians, and under the sheltering ægis of the great republic (not then the close and jealous oligarchy which she afterwards became) the studies of the University were encouraged, liberal stipends were assured to the professors, and learned men from all parts of Italy, and occasionally even from Greece, Germany, and France, were invited to fill her chairs. From 1509 to 1517 the war of the League of Cambrai had caused the lecture-rooms of the University to be closed, but with the peace of Noyon they were again opened, and students and teachers flocked from all parts of Europe. The quarter of a century which followed forms the most brilliant chapter of the literary history of Padua. During this period nearly every scholar of mark among the Italian men of letters passed some time there either as a teacher or a student, generally as both. There Romulo Amaseo, then at the height of his fame, for whose possession the Pope, the King of England, the Marquis of Mantua, and the Universities of Bologna and Padua contended, and to whose lectures so great a crowd of students flocked that fights for admission were not infrequent, lectured for four years upon eloquence. There

[1] We find scholars from the still more barbarous Britain looking on France as the French scholars and students looked on Italy. See Buchanan's poem, *Adventus in Galliam*.

Longolius, the Ciceronian *par excellence*, restored the purity of the Latin tongue, and (as his contemporaries and disciples thought) rivalled his master in style if not in matter. It was as a professor at Padua that Lazarus Buonamici (too sensitive or too indolent to commit the results of his studies to the press) acquired by his lectures the reputation of being the first scholar of his day—a reputation which the few poems and letters he left behind certainly do not justify—and that Lampridio lectured on Demosthenes with such vehement eloquence that Aonio Paleario thought him almost the equal of the great Athenian orator himself, and wrote in raptures to his friend Maffei that a single lecture of Lampridio was worth all the magnificence and glory of Rome.[1] At Padua an independence and liberty of thought existed which would have been sought in vain elsewhere. There Pomponatius discussed with learning and freedom the immortality of the soul and other kindred problems, and (at a somewhat later date) Vesalius devoted himself in safety to those anatomical investigations which have been of such signal service to humanity, but which when pursued in the dominions of the King of Spain brought on their student persecution and exile.

But it was not its professors and lecturers that constituted the sole glory of Padua at this time ; the city was the home of many learned men, who found there freedom, books, and learned society. 'At Padua,' wrote Paleario in 1530, 'dwell poets, orators, and celebrated philosophers. Learning has taken refuge there from choice, and has there found an asylum where Pallas teaches all the arts : in short, there is no place where we can better gratify a taste for reading and learning.'[2]

It was at Padua that Erasmus, probably in company with his pupil the young Archbishop of St. Andrews,

[1] *Palearii Opera* (Amsterdam, 1696), p. 431. [2] *Id.* p. 414.

attended the lectures of Musurus, who was at once the first Greek scholar of the day, an excellent Latinist, and a most indefatigable worker. It was during the five years he passed at Padua that Reginald Pole laid the foundation of that reputation to which perhaps his high birth, his gentle manners, and his amiable disposition contributed more than his learning or talents, and that he acquired the friendship of the other eminent persons (Bembo, Contarini, Sadolet, and Morone) whose elevation to the cardinalate reflects so much honour on Paul III. It was in Pole's house at Padua that Longolius expired, and the Life which is prefixed to the orations of the Ciceronian, though it has been sometimes attributed to Simon Villanovanus, is now generally admitted to be the work of his English pupil. But to no single person did Padua owe so much as to Bembo. After having as a young man studied at that University for two years, he fixed his residence there in December 1521, on the death of Leo X., to whom he had been joint secretary with Sadolet. That Leo should have selected two such men as his secretaries must make us pardon many shortcomings in the father of Christendom. Closely bound together by the ties of friendship, equally able, equally learned, equally ready to assist all poor scholars with their purses and rich ones with their literary help, equally free from bigotry, these cardinals are two of the brightest names in the history of the Renaissance and of the Catholic Church at this period. In one thing only they differed: Sadolet was a Christian, Bembo a Pagan. I know of no one in the fifteenth or sixteenth century in whom the Christian graces and virtues, combined with a firm yet by no means bigoted attachment to Christian doctrine, are more conspicuous than in Sadolet. That his theological writings have passed into so much more complete oblivion than the inferior works of inferior men of his time, is owing partly to their semi-Pelagian common

sense, which if it brought upon them (to the author's intense chagrin) the censure of the Court of Rome and (to his disappointment) the dislike of Calvin and the Reformers, will rather commend them to a generation which, if it sometimes uses the language of Augustine, of Aquinas, and of Calvin, in its actions adopts the conclusions of Pelagius. The voice may still be Augustine's voice, but the hands are the hands of Pelagius. As Sadolet was that *rara avis* of the sixteenth century, a churchman who both believed in Christianity and was an example of all the Christian virtues and graces, Bembo was an equally illustrious example of what was then of much commoner occurrence, the pure Pagan. To him Christianity presented itself (as, if we did not know of such men as Sadolet, Contarini, and Paleario, we should think it could not have failed to do in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century) much as the theology of Greece and Rome must have appeared to Aristotle and Plato, Cicero and Seneca—a system composed of words and ceremonies, useful in many ways, but wholly without foundation in truth or fact, without any relation to morals or actions, without any message of consolation to mankind. Bembo was a Pagan of the Pagans, *Epicuri de grege porcus*.

Handsome in person, graceful in manners, successful, wealthy, learned, with a good temper, a good digestion, and consequently good health and good spirits (*Mens sana in corpore sano*), happy in the affection of his mistress and of the children whom she bore to him, he passed seventy-seven years in such a manner that even Solon would have allowed him the appellation of happy. No thought of religion as a real or living thing, no thought of the unseen or of the future life, ever seems to have crossed his mind. Until Paul III. in 1539 made him (then sixty-nine years of age) a cardinal, not the smallest trace of or taste for theological studies is found in his writings. But the Reformation

obliged men of letters who were raised to the purple to assume a virtue if they had it not, and Bembo was induced by the rank of a Prince of the Church to conform himself to what was required. He laid aside profane literature, and devoted himself to the study of Scripture and the Fathers. But in that part of his life which is connected with Padua he was still the Pagan.

In his youth he had passed some years in the most cultivated society in Italy, that which surrounded his relative Catherine Cornaro, the widowed Queen of Cyprus, who for the twenty years following her forced abdication held at Asola a court distinguished above all others in Italy for literary culture, polished manners, and regal magnificence, and where, as was fitting to the court of a Queen of Cyprus, the chief cultus was that of the Paphian goddess. Of this court Bembo, though still a youth, was the life and soul,[1] and he has dedicated to its memory, and to that of the charming sovereign who presided over it, the most popular and graceful of his works—*Gli Asolani*. As a young man he had studied philosophy at Padua under Pomponatius, and shortly before the death of Leo X. he revisited the city for the benefit of his health, which was somewhat impaired by devotion to study and to the duties of his office, and for which the air and baths of Padua were recommended. During this visit the death of Leo occurred, and he at once decided to withdraw from Rome, and to spend the rest of his life at Padua in study and in the society of learned men. Two rich commanderies of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, two deaneries, three abbeys, several canonries, and divers other benefices, assured him an ample income.

[1] 'Nel bel' Asolo, Caterina Cornaro Regina di Cipro tenea tre corti ad un tempo, quella delle muse, quella dell' amore, e quella della magnificenza e dignità regale, e di tutti tre era il Bembo l' anima e l' ornamento.'—Bettinelli, *Il Risorgimento negli Studi*. Bassano, 1775.

From 1521 to 1539 he passed eighteen years of uninterrupted happiness at Padua, varied by occasional visits to Venice and by one journey to Rome. His house is described by his biographers as a temple of the Muses; he formed there a splendid library, a collection of medals and antiquities unequalled by that of any private person, and a botanical garden filled with all kinds of rare and beautiful plants. His hospitality to all men of letters was unbounded and generous; at his house were to be met all the learned men who taught or studied at Padua, as well as the strangers and foreigners whom the reputation of the University, or of Bembo himself, brought as occasional visitors. Every stranger sought an introduction to him. The summer and autumn he passed at a delightful villa in the neighbourhood, his paternal inheritance. His library contained among its treasures the most ancient manuscripts of Virgil and of Terence that were known to exist, specimens of early Provençal poetry, and pages written by the hand of Petrarch. It was there that his friends were wont to assemble, there Luigi Cornaro read to them portions of his essay *Della Vita Sobria*, there Lampridio recited verses that his hearers thought worthy of Pindar, and there, we cannot doubt, the host himself read or recited some specimens of that polished prose and verse which, if wanting in vigour and substance, leaves nothing to be desired in purity of diction and form, and which for more than a century retained its place 'ut carmen necessarium' which every educated Italian was expected to know almost by heart.

The three years which Dolet spent at Padua were to him and to his after-life most important. It was there without doubt that he imbibed those opinions which, nearly twenty years after, were the cause of his death, and which have induced his enemies to brand him with the name of atheist.

The University of Padua was at this time, and during

the whole of the century, the headquarters of a philosophical school altogether opposed to the doctrines of Christianity, but which was divided into two sects—one pantheistic, and the other, if not absolutely materialist, at least nearly approaching to it. Both professed adherence to the doctrines of Aristotle, and in terms acknowledged him as their only master and teacher. But as in the Christian Church we have read of some who followed Paul and others Cephas, so among the Aristotelians of Padua there were some who followed the commentaries of Averroës, and others those of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Both disbelieved the immortality of the individual soul; the former on the ground of its absorption. The individual soul of man emanates from and is again absorbed into the soul of the universe. The other sect was in fact, if not in terms, materialist, and absolutely denied the immortality of the soul; nor could its doctrine, so at least its opponents asserted, be distinguished from pure atheism.[1] Of this latter school Pietro Pomponazzi, better known under the Latin form of Pomponatius, the most distinguished philosopher of the day, was the acknowledged representative. Born in 1462, he studied both medicine and philosophy at Padua, where, being still young, he was appointed one of the professors of philosophy, and distinguished himself by maintaining the pure doctrine of Aristotle (*i.e.* as he interpreted it, materialism) against his older colleague Achillini, who followed the doctrine and teaching of Averroës. It was in 1516 that he published his treatise *De Immortalitate Animæ*, in which he maintains that the doctrine of immortality is not to be found in Aristotle, is altogether opposed to reason, and is based only on the authority of revelation and the Church, for both of which, when his work was attacked, he professed unbounded

[1] Ritter, *Gesch. der Ch. Phil.*, 390 *et seq.*; Renan, *Averroës*, 353; Tenneman, *Manuel*, 293.

reverence. His book was replied to by his pupil Contarini, and was censured by the Inquisition and publicly burnt at Venice. But it met with a defender in Bembo, the constant friend and protector of freedom of thought, and by his influence the book was permitted to be printed, with some corrections and a statement by Pomponatius that he submitted wholly to revelation and the Church, and did not in any manner oppose the doctrine of immortality, but only the philosophical arguments which were generally used in its support. This however, as Hallam remarks, 'is the current language of philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which must be judged by other presumptions.'[1] Pomponatius died in 1525. His celebrity and influence long continued, and were at their height when Étienne Dolet arrived at Padua, where for three years he sat at the feet of the disciples of Pomponatius, drinking in without doubt those materialistic doctrines which, if they did not entirely harmonise with the opinions of his master Cicero, were at least contrary to mediævalism and superstition, and therefore congenial to his mind. It is strange that his biographers,

[1] *Hist. Lit.* i. 315. See as to Pomponatius, in addition to the authorities cited in the last note, Brucker, *Hist. Phil.* iv. 164; Buhle, *Gesch. der neueren Philosophie*, vol. ii.; *Pietro Pomponazzi: Studi storici su la scuola Bolognese e Padovana del secolo xvi*, per F. Fiorentino, Firenze, 1868; *Sulla Immortalità dell' anima di Pietro Pomponazzi*, per Giacinto Fontana, Siena, 1869 [this work contains several unpublished letters of Pomponatius]; *Quarterly Review*, October 1893. Besides two editions of the *De Immortalitate* in its author's lifetime, it was reprinted at least four times in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (three times without date or indication of place, the fourth time with the date, obviously fictitious, MDXXXIV.) See Brunet, *Manuel;* Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* ii. 805; and Vogt, *Cat. Lib. Rarior.* 466. In 1791 Professor Bardili edited the *De Immortalitate* at Tübingen, with a life of the author; yet he does not appear to have seen the two original editions. The earlier editions are all among the number of rare books. It is noteworthy that Pomponatius was entirely ignorant of Greek, though he read lectures on Aristotle.

while discussing what his theological opinions really were, and how he acquired them, have never adverted to the teaching of Padua and the influence of Pomponatius.

But literature and not philosophy was the mistress of Dolet. Of the latter he seems to have acquired little more than was sufficient to show him how irrational, at least, were the prevalent and orthodox opinions. The master at whose feet he sat, whose affection and whose learning he never lost an occasion of celebrating, whose untimely loss he never ceased to mourn, and who owes such immortality as he has obtained rather to the admiration of his pupil than to the little of his own composition which has come down to us, was, although without doubt a disciple of Pomponatius, above all things a Ciceronian and a humanist. Simon Villanovanus has wanted a sacred bard and a biographer. Even a niche in the biographical dictionaries has been denied him. Yet it is certain that he was a man of great promise, that he was looked upon by many competent judges as a scholar of great learning, industry, and genius, and that his death at the age of thirty-five was lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic of letters by several of the most learned men of the day. Besides Dolet, his most attached scholar, his praises are sounded by Longolius, the chief of the Ciceronians, by Pierre Bunel, by Salmon Macrin, and (probably) by that great man from whom a word of praise is itself sufficient to confer an immortality, at least among all the disciples of the divine Pantagruel—François Rabelais.

Which of the innumerable 'Newtowns' is the place of his birth we do not know. He is, however, spoken of by Bunel as 'Simon Villanovanus Belga,' from which it may be conjectured that it was Neufville in Hainault. That he was born in 1495, and studied at Pavia from 1515 to 1521, we learn from the letter about to be cited. In the latter year Longolius, writing to Egnatius, recommended Simon

Villanovanus in these terms: 'I know that both age and nationality make a man little fit for philosophical study, but this man's age is in my judgment especially suited for it; he has reached his twenty-sixth year, and is endowed with such prudence and moderation that old age itself would not increase them. On the other hand, it does not escape me what an evil reputation the French have in Italy, but I do not hesitate to recommend Simon Villanovanus to you as free from both the vices and follies of the French, and as one who is distinguished as well by Italian gravity as by his knowledge of the Latin language, and, what is of great importance, by his correct pronunciation.[1] Nor will you find him wanting either in virtues which are the common subject of praise, sincerity probity and conscientiousness, or in talent judgment studiousness and learning, or, finally, in a remarkable knowledge of the civil law. He has passed the last six years at Pavia in that study, under excellent teachers, and has far surpassed all his fellow-students.'[2]

On the death of Longolius, Villanovanus seems to have succeeded him as the chief professor of Eloquence (*i.e.* Latin) at Padua, though neither of them held any official position, and their names will be sought in vain in the histories of the University by Tomasini, Riccoboni, Papadopoli, and Facciolati. On Dolet's arrival in 1527 he was certainly enjoying a great reputation as a lecturer and as a master of Latin style. A Ciceronian, the friend, disciple, and successor of Longolius the chief representative if not the founder of the sect, it was no wonder that he received Dolet with open arms, and that the latter fell completely under his influence. 'Simon Villanovanus taught Dolet the purity of Latin style and the art of rhetoric,' he tells us himself in his

[1] See *post* in the letter of Odonus as to the difference between the French and Italian pronunciation of Latin.

[2] *Longolii Epist.* lib. iii. epist. 26.

Commentaries[1]; and in the second Oration he ascribes to the instructions of Villanovanus his oratorical success. But the epitaph which he wrote on his master, the odes in which he celebrates his memory and laments his untimely death, and the frequent reference to him in his writings, show us how firm a friendship existed between the student and the professor, and how great was the influence which the latter exercised on his pupil's mind. It was in defence of the venerated Longolius (whom Dolet had never personally known[2]) that he wrote his dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*, in which Simon Villanovanus is one of the interlocutors.

The single composition of Simon Villanovanus which I have been able to find is a letter in the *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*, first published by Paulus Manutius in 1556, and reprinted by Bernard Toursaint at Paris the same year. It is written from Padua (without date), and is addressed 'Simon Villanovanus Hieronymo Savoniano.' But though Simon Villanovanus left no literary work behind him, it is certain that he impressed all with whom he came in contact with the idea that he was a man of no ordinary abilities and promise. The testimony of Longolius I have already quoted. The admiration of Dolet must have had some solid basis. Pierre Bunel wrote six verses on his death and sent them to Émile Perrot,[3] with this inscription below: 'Simoni Villanovano Belgæ, Græce Latineque doctissimo, cum bonis omnibus disciplinis, tum sinceræ Philosophiæ imprimis dedito, ob mirificam scribendi elegantiam et subtilitatem quam etiam suis scriptis, quæ a nonnullis premuntur,[4] expressam reliquerat, testimonio Longolii toti

[1] Vol. i. col. 1178.

[2] Longolius died in 1522 at Padua, in the house of Reginald Pole.

[3] *Bunelli et Manutii Epistolæ* (Paris, 1581), p. 10.

[4] La Monnoye (*Menagiana*, iii. 491, edit. of 1716) says that the words *quæ a nonnullis premuntur* seem to refer to Dolet, who, being at

Italiæ præclare commendato, Galli, in demortui patriæque commendationem, placata Italia posuere.'

Salmon Macrin also placed Simon Villanovanus among the most illustrious men whom France had produced, and did not hesitate, in the following lines addressed to Guillaume du Bellay, to class him with Budæus, Longolius, and Lazarus Bayfius :—

> Illa (*i.e. Gallia*) Italorum nam studii æmula
> Te Lazarumque et Longolium tulit,
> Magnumque Budæum, ac Simonem
> Villa cui nova nomen indidit.[1]

Three years were passed by Dolet in drinking in the lessons, not only of Simon Villanovanus,[2] but, as we cannot

Padua at the time of the death of Simon Villanovanus, was accused of having appropriated and turned to his own use the writings of his master (see *post*). [But the word *premuntur* which La Monnoye seems to have taken to mean *suppressed* really means *depreciated*.] There was certainly something mysterious about the death of Villanovanus. It seems to have been thought, at least by his friends Bunel and Perrot, that he had met with foul play (apparently from an Italian hand); but Bunel was afterwards satisfied that he died of the plague.—Letter to Perrot of December, 1530, *Bunelli Epist.* p. 8.

[1] Salmon Macrin, *Hymnorum Selectorum*, lib. iii. p. 77. Guillaume Scève calls him and Longolius 'et litterarum et Galliæ ambo lumina.' Ode prefixed to *Doleti Orationes Duæ*.

[2] Except by the very limited number of the students of the Renaissance who have been interested in all that concerns Dolet, the name of Simon Villanovanus would have been entirely forgotten if it were not for a sentence of Rabelais, where 'le docte Villanovanus François' is classed with Cleon of Daulia and Thrasymedes among those who never dreamed (*Aussi furent Cleon de Daulie, Thrasymedes, et de nostre temps le docte Villanovanus François lesquelz oncques ne songerent*, book iii. ch. 13). Now, according to Le Duchat, whom many of the commentators have followed, the Villanovanus here spoken of is the celebrated Arnold of Villeneuve,—one of the most learned men of the fourteenth century,—physician, theologian, alchemist, the author of the *Schola Salernitana*, and other medical and scientific treatises. La Monnoye, however, in the *Menagiana*, vol. iii. pp. 488-92, has suggested and attempted to prove

doubt, of the other professors of that most renowned University, yet he has not referred to any of them by name, and all his recollections of Padua seem bound up with his dear master.

that 'le docte Villanovanus François' was not Arnold, but Simon of Villeneuve. He says: 'We are at a loss to know who is *le docte Villanovanus François* of whom Rabelais speaks as never having dreamed. It cannot be Arnold of Villeneuve, since none of the three circumstances of learned, French, or contemporary of Rabelais suit him. He was not, and could not indeed be learned, in the period of barbarism and ignorance in which he lived, that is to say, in the thirteenth century, and up to the commencement of the fourteenth. There are stronger grounds for believing him a Spaniard than a Frenchman, as Dom Nicolas Antonio has shown in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca vetus Hispaniæ*. Lastly, he could not be of the time of Rabelais, having died in 1310, or at latest in 1315; and even if, as is sometimes erroneously stated, he was living in 1350, he would still have died 150 years before the birth of Rabelais. I am then persuaded that the Villanovanus here designated is no other than Simon of Villeneuve.' After quoting the several testimonies of the learning of the latter, La Monnoye proceeds: 'It is then with justice that Rabelais has named him *le docte Villanovanus*, and especially *le docte Villanovanus François*, for fear of his being confounded with the Spaniard Servetus, who in the time of Rabelais published several books under the name of Villanovanus. It only remains for me to reply to a conjecture of the commentator upon Rabelais (Le Duchat) concerning Arnold of Villeneuve, "who perhaps," he says, "has in his treatise on dreams declared that he had himself never dreamed." It is easy to find a solution of this doubt at page 637 of the folio edition of the works of Arnold of Villeneuve (Basle, 1585): "Est igitur advertendum quod sub quacunque specie animal aliquod insultum faciens, secundum conditiones et modos insultus, et defensiones utriusque, debet visio judicari. *Ita recolo in somno me vidisse* lupos quatuor quadam nocte qui ore aperto insultum in me videbantur facere. Ego autem ense evaginato in ipsos irruebam, et majorem eorum eviscerabam ad mortem. Infra triduum in quadam causa vidi me quatuor inimicorum meorum victoriam habuisse."' (La Monnoye does not give us the name of the treatise of Arnold from which this passage is taken. It is to be found in a tract entitled *Expositiones Visionum quæ fiunt in Somniis*.) Two of the reasons given by La Monnoye for rejecting Arnold of Villeneuve appear to me conclusive. He was certainly not a contemporary of Rabelais, and, at least on one

In the beginning of 1530 the friendship of Dolet and Simon Villanovanus was broken by the untimely death of the latter at the early age of thirty-five. His friend and pupil composed the following not inelegant epitaph upon him, which, as La Monnoye tells us,[1] was engraved upon a tablet of brass :—

occasion, he dreamed. It is true De l'Aulnaye (a commentator on Rabelais, to whom, notwithstanding his crotchets, the faithful are much indebted), always desirous of displaying his own knowledge at the expense of his master, thinks the passage quoted by La Monnoye shows that Rabelais was in error. But La Monnoye's two other reasons are of no weight. Rabelais, fortunately for us, did not live in the eighteenth century, when only the sciolists of the day were accounted learned, and when the dilettanteism of M. de Ménage was considered of more worth than the most profound learning of an age that had known neither the Academy nor the Grand Monarch. To no writer of any age can the epithet 'learned' be given with greater propriety than to Arnold of Villeneuve. Again, that he was a Spaniard is not now generally believed. That Villanueva in Catalonia may have been his birthplace is possible, but the weight of authority is rather in favour of Villeneuve, near Montpellier, while the village of the same name in Provence also claims him as its son.

When the Pantagruelist fathers and doctors, men who have devoted their lives to the study of the master, are in doubt, it would be presumptuous in me to offer a decided opinion ; but I cannot agree with Messieurs Burgaud des Marets and Rathery, who in one of the most recent, and, in my opinion (*pace* M. Jannet), the best edition of Rabelais for ordinary readers (Didot, Paris, 1870), consider Simon Villanovanus could not be meant because of the epithet 'Belga' applied to him by Pierre Bunel, and which, as they think, proves that he was not a Frenchman. But in a would-be classical writer of the sixteenth century, a native of any part of France north of the Seine, and certainly of Artois, Picardy, or the northern part of Champagne (Ardennes), would be described as 'Belga.' In the letter of Longolius already cited Simon is described as 'Gallus,' a word intended to include a native of any part of the region between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. Messieurs Burgaud des Marets and Rathery forget that Longolius himself—so constantly referred to by the French Latinists of the sixteenth century as the honour of the Gallic name—was a native of Liège.

[1] *Menagiana*, iii. 491.

Salve lector,
Et animam huc paulum adverte.
Quod miserum mortales ducunt,
Felicissimum cito mori puto. Quamobrem
Et mihi mortuo mortem gratulare,
Et questu abstine,
Morte enim mortalis esse desii.
Vale,
Et mihi quiescenti bene precare.[1]

'I bid you welcome, reader, and ask your attention for a moment. That fate which mortals consider to be a misfortune, namely to die early, I think a most happy lot. Wherefore congratulate me on my death and do not lament me, for by death I cease to be mortal. Farewell, and pray

[1] No epitaph on Simon Villanovanus is given by Tomasini, nor appears to exist at Padua. I cannot agree with the commentary of M. Boulmier, 'On sent dans ces quelques lignes, mornes et glaciales comme le bronze qu'elles couvraient, cet incurable dégoût du monde, cet amer mépris de la vie, cette sombre et froide aspiration vers le repos du néant qui forme un des traits distinctifs du caractère de ce malheureux Dolet' (pp. 11, 12). I can see nothing in this epitaph, or in the letters of Dolet, or in those other writings where he may be supposed to speak his real sentiments, which shows either a disgust at the world, a contempt for life, or any desire for the repose of annihilation. Under the bitter persecutions of his enemies he no doubt expresses himself as though death was to be desired. He has indeed an ode, *Mortem esse Expetendam*; but in the short intervals between his misfortunes he appears of a joyous temperament, and earnestly to desire life, both for the sake of the cultivation of his own mind, and in order to produce works which should live, and so procure for him that fame which he so eagerly longed for. In fact the desire for posthumous fame was almost a disease with him, and this feeling is seldom if ever combined with an 'incurable dégoût du monde' or an 'amer mépris de la vie,' although in some of the Cynics, and notably in Peregrinus, the latter feeling may have been assumed, and even carried to the point of a voluntary death, with a view of acquiring that fame and notoriety which, while professing to despise, they so earnestly desired. The constant presence of the idea of death is, however, one of the best-known characteristics of the French writers of the Renaissance.

for my repose.' Besides this epitaph Dolet celebrated the death of Villanovanus in three Latin odes, written probably about this time, and certainly not long afterwards, as they were all published with the *Orations* in 1534. The first, in elegiacs, is one of the best of Dolet's poems, both as to language and sentiment, and alone would prove the utter worthlessness of the criticism of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, who, himself a verse-writer without the least taste or genius for poetry,[1] finds no language too strong to express his contempt for the poems of Dolet :—

O mihi quem probitas, quem vitæ candor amicum
Fecerat, o stabili fœdere juncte mihi,
O mihi quem dederat dulcis fortuna sodalem,
O mihi crudeli morte perempte comes :
Jamne sopor te æternus habet, tenebræque profundæ
Tecum ut nunc frustra carmine mœstus agam ?
Quod nos cogit amor, surdo tibi forte canemus,
Sed nimii officii non pudet esse reum.
Chare vale, quem plus oculis dileximus unum,
Et jubet, ut mage te semper amemus, amor.
Tranquillæ tibi sint noctes, somnusque quietus,
Perpetuoque sile, perpetuoque vale.
Et si umbris quicquam est sensus, ne sperne rogantem,
Dilige, perpetuo cui quoque charus eris.[2]

O thou whom probity and sincerity made my friend,
Thou who wast joined to me in an indissoluble union,
Thou whom kind fortune gave to me for a comrade,
Thou my companion, now taken from me by cruel death ;
Art thou wrapped in eternal sleep and in profound darkness,
So that in vain I mournfully address thee in my song ?
Yet what love compels me to do I shall sing, though thou may'st be deaf to it.

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[1] 'Les poésies brutes et informes dont il a déshonoré le Parnasse. Un homme d'un très mauvais goût dans la poésie.'—Huet.

[2] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 207.

I am not ashamed to be accused of too tender an affection.
Farewell, dear friend, the one whom I have loved more than my own eyes,
And whom love constrains me to love for ever more and more.
May thy nights be tranquil and thy sleep quiet,
For ever silent, but for ever well.
And if in the land of shadows there is any perception,
Do not reject my prayer, but love one to whom thou wilt always be dear.

An epitaph in Latin verse and a longer Latin poem have less merit, yet they show the affection of Dolet, and his bitter grief for the loss of the friend with whom (as he himself tells us) he had lived for three years in the closest intimacy.

Of Dolet's life at Padua we know but little. All we can say with certainty is that Simon Villanovanus was his chief friend and teacher, and that among the fellow-students with whom he formed an acquaintance was Gui de Breslay, afterwards President of the Grand Council, the intimate friend of Simon, and who had been known to and praised by Longolius. None of Breslay's biographers mention the year of his birth, yet he must have been some years older than Dolet, since he commenced his studies at Padua whilst Longolius was still living. In a letter of the latter to Roger de Barma he speaks in terms of high praise of Breslay, referring to him as *optimæ spei adolescentem*.[1] That Dolet had no personal acquaintance with Bembo or the other eminent persons whom he must have seen and probably heard lecture seems certain: he would hardly have omitted to tell us of any persons of eminence whom he had known. Either here or at Venice, however, he made the acquaintance of the clever charlatan Giulio Camillo, to whom, though like himself a great admirer of Cicero, he seems to have taken a violent dislike.

[1] *Longolii Epist.*, last letter of Book I.

Of Camillo and his theatre, the idea of which was not yet promulgated, we shall shortly hear again. It seems probable that Dolet also met at this time Hortensio Lando.

Of student life at Padua, Dolet has left a charming description in the framework of fiction in which his dialogue against Erasmus *De Imitatione Ciceroniana* is set. The work is an imaginary conversation between Sir Thomas More and Simon Villanovanus. With the substance of the dialogue and its arguments I shall deal hereafter, but the framework—though of course wholly fictitious, for More never visited Italy—no doubt presents a true picture of the manner in which Villanovanus and his pupils passed many pleasant spring days at Padua.

'I was myself present at Padua when the dialogue of Erasmus entitled *Ciceronianus* was given by Thomas More to Simon Villanovanus. I freely noticed his countenance all the while as he turned over its pages and cursorily read it. I was further present at a very long conversation which took place between him and More, and which was most learned and eloquent.' (As Villanovanus is talking to his pupils of Erasmus and his dislike to Longolius, More arrives.) 'As Villanovanus was making these remarks More was suddenly announced; admitted into the house, he found there a crowd of young men who constantly flocked to Simon Villanovanus on account of the greatness and celebrity of his learning and eloquence. They salute each other in a friendly manner, as is the wont of educated and cultured men. Then Villanovanus thanks More in a most handsome manner for the gift which he has received from him, and puts aside his own praises.

'After thus exchanging civilities a longer conversation is commenced; they begin to walk about up and down the house: then More remarked, "I do not enjoy this walking up and down, wearied as I am by my journey and by the

jolting of my horse. Since it is bright weather and the joyous appearance of the earth covered with fresh flowers calls us into the fields, what should prevent us from going out somewhere near the city, where we may lie on the grass under the boughs of an oak and converse pleasantly, taking a pleasure not unworthy of educated men?" All agreed to this proposal; they immediately left the town, found a place covered with a thick shade, and sat down leaning upon the trees. Then Villanovanus, who always sought to avoid sloth and idleness, and was excessively fond of every kind of mental exercise, said, "However pleasant this place is, satiety will soon seize upon us, and weariness steal over us (which always puts an end to pleasure), unless some subject of discussion is fixed upon to which we may devote the rest of the day. For the sun has scarcely passed much beyond the meridian, nor will it go down until eight o'clock. Let one or other suggest some subject of discussion, which may prove sufficiently long to occupy the time, and may be wanting neither in pleasure nor profit. It is not sufficient to feed the eyes with this pleasant prospect, the mind ought also to be nourished with some fruitful pleasures." All agreed to this most sensible and opportune suggestion, and desired him to propose a subject for discussion.' Villanovanus then addressing More, introduces the subject of Erasmus, and a long conversation ensues between the two, at which the students are listeners only. At the end Villanovanus remarks, '"Now let us arise and be going, since we have had a profitable holiday and it is now supper-time." More readily agreed to this, as he was considerably fatigued by his journey, and wished to rest in the house. Such was our afternoon exercise.'

'When we had returned into the city, by Simon's direction we all accompanied More to his lodging, and then being dismissed by him we returned to our own homes.'

CHAPTER III

Venice

I loved her from my boyhood ; she to me
Was as a fairy city of the heart,
Rising like water-columns from the sea,
Of joy the sojourn, and of wealth the mart.
Byron.

THE death of Simon Villanovanus broke the tie that bound Dolet to Padua, and he contemplated a speedy return to France, when the persuasions of Jean de Langeac, Bishop of Limoges, who was then passing through Padua as Ambassador from France to Venice, induced him to forgo his design, and to accompany the Ambassador to Venice in the capacity of secretary.[1]

The few tourists who, venturing out of the beaten track, have found themselves in the ancient and important city

[1] Letter to Budé, *Orat. Duæ in Thol.* 105.

of Limoges will not have failed to notice with admiration, not unmixed it may be with censure, in the unfinished fragment which has alone been erected of a cathedral designed on an unusually grand scale and with admirable taste and skill, the remains of the magnificent tomb of one of the most eminent as well as most worthy of its bishops, Jean de Langeac, sometimes, owing to a similarity of names, confounded, even by those who ought to have known better, with his more celebrated successor in the see, the learned, liberal, and jovial cardinal Jean du Bellay-Langey, the friend and patron of Rabelais. Jean de Langeac was one of those men who play no unimportant part in public affairs, yet who leave no mark in the history of their time by which their memory is handed down to posterity. Successively Ambassador to Poland, Portugal, Hungary, Switzerland, Scotland, England, and twice to Rome, few men of his time had seen more of the world, or had profited more by these extended and varied travels. A man of learning and culture himself, he was everywhere the friend and patron of men of letters; and the fact that he was the first to discern the abilities and promise of the poor and unknown student of Padua, and to afford him that patronage which he so much needed, must entitle him to our respect.

Sprung from a family which claimed descent from the kings of Sicily, he was born towards the end of the fifteenth century. In 1512 we find him a councillor clerk of the parliament of Toulouse, and for the next twenty-two years he passed his life immersed in public affairs, chiefly of a diplomatic nature. His industry was indefatigable, and the services which he rendered to his country were not without their reward, as the rich benefices conferred upon him by the king testify. At the end of 1532 he received the bishopric of Avranches, but in less than six months, and before he had

taken possession of his see, he was made to exchange it for Limoges, and a few years after this he retired from public life.

Still mindful of his motto, *Marcescit in otio virtus*, he was as busily occupied during the latter years of his life in the administration of his diocese and his other benefices, and in planning and superintending his architectural works, as during his earlier years he had been in the performance of his public duties. At the same time with his see, he enjoyed numerous rich abbeys and benefices which he held *in commendam*, and he delighted to employ his great fortune for their benefit and in the encouragement of literature and art. His ruling passion was architecture, and it was to his liberality that Limoges owed its episcopal palace, and the elaborate rood-screen of its cathedral, which, if we cannot admire in it the mixture of Gothic tracery with Renaissance sculpture, must when perfect have been of extraordinary magnificence. He made other considerable additions to the cathedral, which had been in progress since the thirteenth century, but which since his death has remained in the incomplete state in which he left it.[1]

Dolet in 1532 in a letter to the Bishop's brother, Francis de Langeac, writes, 'What can I write to you respecting your brother, except the usual information? for certainly no one is more addicted to excessive building than he, so that one may say of him,—

Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.'[2]

[1] Jean de Langeac died in 1541. His will has been printed in the *Bull. de la Soc. Arch. et Hist. de Limoges*, vol. vii. p. 135. A brief life of him by the Abbé Marmeisse appeared at Brioude in 1861, entitled *Notice Biographique sur Jean de Langeac, Évêque de Limoges*, but it contains very little of interest.

[2] *Orat. Duæ in Thol.* 97.

No one who had read this letter of Dolet, or his treatise *De Officio Legati*, could possibly have mistaken this great architectural Bishop of

Made secretary to an Ambassador at twenty-one, Dolet would seem to be borne on that tide 'which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.' Yet—except as it afforded him the means of studying for a year at Venice, and ensured for

Limoges for his successor Jean du Bellay. Née de la Rochelle, however, suggested that by *Joannes Langiacus*, Cardinal *Jean du Bellay-Langey* was intended. He had never heard of Jean de Langeac, and knowing that Cardinal du Bellay was at one time Bishop of Limoges, he assumed that he was the early—as he was the later—friend of Dolet. The error is venial in the worthy bookseller, whose means of knowledge were limited, and who does not profess to do much more than translate from Maittaire. [He afterwards, however, discovered his mistake, and corrected it in the copy of his *Life of Dolet* with his MS. notes in the late M. Baudrier's possession]; but it is difficult to understand how M. Boulmier, and the writer of the article on Dolet in *La France Protestante* who had access at least to the ordinary biographical dictionaries and lists of Bishops of Limoges, should have fallen into the same error.

Jean de Langeac died Bishop of Limoges in 1541, and was immediately succeeded by Jean du Bellay-Langey. At the time when Dolet wrote and printed his treatise *De Officio Legati*, Langeac was still living and Bishop of Limoges; and in 1535 Dolet had dedicated his dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana* '*Ad Joannem Langiacum Episcopum Lemovicensem virum eloquentissimum et eloquentium studiosissimum*.' The following is Dolet's notice of the Bishop in the *Commentaries*, vol. ii. col. 1496: 'Among those who have filled the office of Ambassador in our time in France at least, Jean de Langeac holds by far the first place, a man equally distinguished by his ability, his wisdom, and his singular prudence. The Kings of France have availed themselves of his excellence and fidelity in every kind of business; and what regions, what kingdoms are there, distant or near, into which he has not been sent as Ambassador? So that indeed we ought to think him worthy, not only of the highest ecclesiastical dignities and the richest benefices, but also indisputably of that honour [a bronze statue] by which the Romans conferred immortality on Sulpicius Severus on account of his performance of duties of a similar kind. By his watchful counsels the interests of France have been cared for and promoted in most difficult circumstances. By him the commissions of the Kings of France have been most faithfully set forth and performed. Let me further add that no one in our time has shown himself of a more obliging or liberal disposition towards men of letters, more devoted to all the learned, or more desirous of rendering services to them.'

him the friendship and subsequent pecuniary assistance of Jean de Langeac—his secretaryship seems to have had no influence on his subsequent fortunes. Of his duties as secretary he tells us nothing, except that he was employed to write letters to the supreme Pontiff and to the Bishop's other correspondents.[1] We know, however, that ample leisure was afforded him for study, and that he availed himself of those opportunities which Venice specially offered.

The Republic had then reached the height of her power, her glory, and her external splendour. The victorious arms of the Turks had indeed robbed her of a part of her Oriental possessions, and her Doge could no longer justly retain the singular yet once accurate title of Lord of three-eighths of the Roman Empire. The war which followed the League of Cambrai had given a shock to her military power from which she was never to recover, and the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope had for ever deprived her of the position which she had so long held as the centre of the commerce between the East and the West. But nothing of this was as yet apparent: no one knew, probably no one suspected, that the day of her power had passed, that she had entered on a career of decline which was to continue for three centuries, and was not to be stemmed until, after alternations of domestic misgovernment and foreign tyranny, she was again to raise her head, again to enter on a possible course of prosperity as a member of a free and united Italy.

In 1529 Venice was still Queen of the Adriatic. Besides possessing half of the great plain of Lombardy, she was the sovereign of Istria, Dalmatia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Cerigo, Cyprus, and Crete, as well as of several towns in the Peloponnesus and in the northern part of continental Greece. She still retained several islands in

[1] Letter to Budé, *Orat. Duæ in Thol.* 105.

the Ægean, while the Dukes of Naxos and other insular Christian princes only retained their dominions by relying on her protection and obeying her behests.

The city itself was, with perhaps one exception, by far the richest and the most magnificent, and, without any exception, the most orderly and best governed in the world. Until its capture by the Turks in 1463 Constantinople had held the first place among European cities. Vastly inferior as the new Rome of the Bosphorus was to the Rome of Augustus and the Antonines, yet there, and there only, were to be found living, or perhaps only galvanised, but still existing realities, the splendours of Roman art, of Roman civilisation. Temples, palaces, statues, pictures, of a late and degraded age indeed, but still far superior to anything that was to be seen in western Europe during the early part of the Middle Ages, existed at Constantinople. But this was terminated by its capture by the Turks. The city became a mass of ruins, the graven images were utterly destroyed, nothing of its ancient splendours remained, save what could be converted to Mahommedan purposes, to the worship of Allah or the luxury of his servant the Sultan.

During the century which followed the loss of Constantinople, two cities, both Italian, claim the first place both for wealth and magnificence, Venice and Florence; and if the latter must carry off the palm in matters of art and literature, if the grace, the beauty, the artistic feeling, the extraordinary combination of grandeur and simplicity which characterises the Duomo of Brunelleschi, entitles it to take precedence of the Church of St. Mark, yet for general magnificence, for richness of external ornament, for wealth acquired by commerce and expended in the decoration of the city, Venice might not unreasonably claim that pre-eminence which, in regard to internal government, to the completeness and efficiency of its police regulations, no city

could pretend to compete with. Perfect security for life and property, and an entire absence of those insurrections and civil brawls which frequently occurred as well in Florence as in nearly every other city in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were the especial characteristics of Venice.

It was here that Étienne Dolet passed the year which followed his departure from Padua. The great palace of the Doges, with its marble, its columns, its paintings which equalled those of Apelles, especially impressed him, and he has left us in the biographical poem on Jean de Langeac, appended to his treatise *De Officio Legati*, a long and picturesque description of it, and of the reception given to the Ambassador.

Although Padua was the University of the Republic, yet in Venice itself the means of study were not wanting. Several literary professorships had been founded and endowed by the State, and were filled by men of diplomatic as well as literary eminence. At this time the chair of Eloquence[1] was occupied by Giovanni Battista Egnazio, the pupil of Politian, who, in the opinion of many, most nearly resembled his master. The assistant and friend of Aldus, the editor of the best editions of Cæsar, Suetonius, and Ovid which had as yet appeared, he was highly esteemed not only by the senators of Venice, who had employed him in several missions of importance, and who appointed him to his professorship in 1520, but by all men of letters of the day. When only eighteen years of age he had opened a school at Venice, the success and reputation of which had excited the jealousy of Sabellicus, who then held the public professorship of Eloquence; and when long afterwards Egnazio was appointed to the same office, he delivered lectures which had an extraordinary popularity. More than

[1] *i.e.* Latin composition.

five hundred persons, we are told, daily attended his lectures; not young students only, but persons of all ages, senators of Venice, Papal legates, foreign ambassadors, and strangers from all parts, were to be seen there. We can understand the ardour with which Étienne Dolet seized upon the opportunities which Langeac afforded him of attending the lectures of this eminent man. The young Ciceronian was delighted to find that his favourite author was the subject of one of the courses which Egnazio gave in the year that Langeac spent at Venice. Dolet tells us[1] that the special subject of the lectures of Egnazio during the year that he attended them were Lucretius and Cicero *De Officiis*, and we cannot doubt that these lectures, especially those on the *De Officiis*, were of much service to him in preparing the materials for his great work, the *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, the plan of which he had for some time conceived, and the materials for which he was already collecting.

The name of only one other man of letters has come down to us as connected with Dolet at Venice. Sturm, in the edition which he gave of Dolet's *Phrases et Formulæ Linguæ Latinæ elegantiores* in 1576, says, 'Dolet is believed to have been assisted by Navagero, with whom he lived at Venice, and thence to have brought the materials of his *Commentaries* into his own country.' This statement is clearly unfounded. If Dolet ever knew Navagero, it must have been at Padua, for he (Navagero) died at Blois on the 8th of May 1529, a date at which Dolet was certainly still at Padua. But during his residence in that city Navagero could only have been there, if at all, for short visits. There is, however, no trace in any of Dolet's writings of an acquaintance with Navagero. The statement had been made to Sturm (as it elsewhere appears) by some one who desired to deprive Dolet of the merit of the *Commentaries*.

[1] 1 *Comm.* 1156.

But his sojourn at Venice was not exclusively devoted to business or study. He found time and opportunity—as what youth of twenty visiting Venice for the first time would not have done—to fall in love. He was not more fortunate in love than in friendship. Death, which had so lately taken from him his friend, now deprived him of his mistress. He commemorated her death in an epitaph, which is one of the least happy of his poems. Goujet[1] describes it as very profane. It is, however, merely stilted and pretentious, utterly wanting in reality and feeling. The three poems written after her death tell us all we know of this love affair, that is to say, the name of the lady and the fact of her death, and they allow us to believe that Étienne's love had not been very profound nor his heart very severely wounded by the loss of Elena.

[1] *Bibliothèque Françoise*, xi. 194.

CHAPTER IV

Toulouse

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.
Lucretius.

DANGEAC'S mission at Venice lasted for a year, and Dolet then returned with him to France, intending to devote himself more ardently than ever to the study of Latin literature and to the preparation and collection of materials for his great work—contemplated since he was sixteen years of age—upon the Latin language, with a primary view of proving the superiority in style of Cicero to Sallust, Cæsar, Terence, and Livy; a work for which, although only in his twenty-second year, he had already made extensive collections, and which—for self-depreciation was never one of his failings—he seems already to have thought himself competent to write. Inordinately desirous of contemporary and of posthumous fame, he was, however,

entirely without the desire of that vulgar success which leads to wealth and honours. There is not a trace in any of his correspondence, or indeed in any of his writings, of the least desire for wealth; provided he had the means of subsistence and of pursuing his studies, he was content. The meanness of his dress, the discomfort and poverty in which he contentedly lived, are the subjects of the satire and ridicule of his enemies. During his residence at Toulouse he accepted with manly gratitude the gifts of the good Langeac, and, when necessary, informed him of his wants.[1] But we never find Dolet writing begging and fawning letters asking for money, benefices, and places, such as those which disgust and pain us so much in the men of letters of the day, even the most eminent, even in the great Erasmus himself. Dolet indeed frequently seeks his powerful friends' assistance, but it is to obtain his release from prison, to protect him from his enemies, to obtain permission to peacefully earn his own livelihood as a printer, and to print books that may be of use to his country, that he applies to them.

On his return from Italy no care for the future seems to have disturbed him; study and fame were all he desired. But the urgent advice of his friends—and especially of the Bishop of Limoges—was that he should devote himself to the study of the law. It is clear that Langeac charged himself with his protégé's maintenance during the time he was to be occupied in the study of jurisprudence. When these studies were finished the Bishop would have no difficulty in obtaining his appointment to some legal office, which in the eyes of the shrewd diplomatist would be much better for him than the precarious life of a mere scholar, and which, he would not fail to remind Dolet, would be a stepping-stone to greater successes. The Bishop had himself, when a young man, held the office of Councillor Clerk of the

[1] See his letters to Langeac, *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, 134-137.

Parliament of Toulouse, and it was to the University of that city that he advised Dolet to betake himself. A new subject to study always had attractions for him. He tells us,

> Mon naturel est d'apprendre toujours ;
> Mais si ce vient que je passe aucuns jours
> Sans rien apprendre en quelque lieu ou place,
> Incontinent il faut que je déplace.

Accordingly, yielding to his friend's entreaties, he gave up for the present, not without a sigh, his literary labours, and early in 1532 entered as a student the University of Toulouse, the most celebrated school of Law at that time in France, and one which enjoyed so great a reputation beyond that country, that numerous students of other nations, Spaniards, Germans, and English, were to be found there. The two years and upwards which Dolet passed at Toulouse were most memorable in his life. It was there that the foundations of all his future misfortunes were laid, that he aroused those enmities which never rested or ceased until his death in the Place Maubert ; there also he contracted many friendships with good men, which he retained until his or their death. These two years of friendships, enmities, and misfortunes are among the most interesting in his history, and we are fortunate in having more detailed information respecting them than respecting any other two years of his life. His *Orationes duæ in Tholosam*, and the three books of epistles to and from his friends which are included in the same volume, are our principal sources of information for this period, though we are able to supplement them from the histories of Toulouse, the lives of other men of eminence who were to be found there at this time, and the correspondence of Julius Cæsar Scaliger with Arnoul Le Ferron.

From Padua to Toulouse the moral was even greater

than the physical distance. The former was the home of freedom of thought, where no limit was placed on the speculations of its scholars, where the highest and deepest intellectual problems were discussed with a freedom and ingenuity which, if leading sometimes to unsound conclusions, yet showed abundance of life and vigour, and where literary culture was carried to the highest pitch, and received no less devotion than philosophical speculation. The latter was exclusively devoted to mediæval jurisprudence and mediæval theology, each of them studied in the narrowest and most formal manner. The days of Cujas and Coras had not yet come, and though Jean de Boyssone was attempting to introduce some ameliorations into the study of law, and, following the example of Alciat at Bourges and Pavia, was setting forth jurisprudence as in some sort a scientific system and not a mere collection of arbitrary rules, yet his influence was hardly felt, and in the school of law at Toulouse Bartholus and Accursius still reigned supreme.

For three centuries before this time Toulouse had been the headquarters of ecclesiastical bigotry, tyranny, and superstition. The birthplace, and in France the chief seat of the Inquisition, that institution had so effectually done its work, that the Parliament, the University, the Capitouls, and the mob, vied with each other which could show themselves its most faithful henchmen, and could give it the most efficient aid in its brutal operations. And for three centuries more the city and its population had the same character. 'Nowhere,' proudly remarks the President de Gramond, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, 'are the laws against heresy enforced with more severity, and the result of this is that Toulouse alone among the cities of France is free from the stain of heresy, no one being admitted to citizenship whose Catholic faith is suspected.'[1]

[1] *Hist. Galliæ*, lib. xxx.

But it had not always been so. There had been a time when Toulouse was in the van of civilisation, of culture, and of progress. Under the Romans, and still more under the Visigoths, Toulouse was the most polished city of Gaul. Arts and letters flourished, and instead of a dull level of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, theological speculations were rife, which, however deserving the appellation of heresies, at least showed intellectual life and vigour. 'The Court of the Visigothic kings at Toulouse,' says Augustin Thierry,[1] 'the centre of all the policy of the West, the intermediary between the Imperial Court and the Germanic kingdoms, equalled in polish, and perhaps surpassed in dignity, that of Constantinople.' Martial, Ausonius, and Sidonius Apollinaris describe it as the city of Pallas, and St. Jerome calls it the Rome of the Garonne. Like the Rome of the Tiber, Toulouse had its capitol and its consuls, and in the title of capitouls, or barons of the capitol, which the civic magistrates proudly retained long after that of consul had fallen into disuse, a memory was preserved of the days of imperial or regal Toulouse. Under the early Visigothic kings Arianism was the dominant creed, and though, after the conversion of Recared to the orthodox faith, the latter became the religion of the State, yet Arianism continued to prevail widely through the provinces of Narbonne and Aquitaine. Soon after Arianism became extinct a new sect of heretics appeared, the Cathari ; and to them succeeded in the beginning of the twelfth century the Albigenses, whose doctrines were so simple and Christian, whose lives so peaceful and industrious, that they soon spread over a portion of Languedoc, and gave rise to one of the most horrible and brutal persecutions which the history of the world records. The persecutions of the Christians by the Pagan emperors of Rome fade into insignificance before those which resulted from the three

[1] *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, i. 6.

crusades preached by the fathers of Christendom against the Albigenses. As Toulouse was the headquarters of the sect, it especially experienced the cruelties which the Catholic Church, through the agency of Simon de Montfort and his infamous colleague Foulques, Bishop of Toulouse, inflicted on thousands of peaceful citizens and peasants, for no other offence than that of refusing to accept doctrines which, whether true or false, it is certain neither the persecuted nor the persecutors could possibly understand. The unfortunate Counts of Toulouse strove in vain to protect their peaceful and loyal subjects; they were themselves hounded to death for refusing to act as the butchers of those whom it was their first duty to shelter from oppression. But the required result was obtained. There are but few series of events upon which the Church of Rome can look with greater or more unqualified satisfaction, and on the result of which she has better reason to congratulate herself, than the crusades against the Albigenses. Thousands of Christian men, women, and children were murdered in cold blood; some by the ferocious soldiers of Montfort; others, less fortunate, perished by the flames which were kindled by saints and bishops; a still greater number were tortured, wounded, imprisoned, and deprived of their lands. The most smiling and prosperous part of France was changed into a desert. '*Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*' The old joyous life of the South was gone. But heresy was successfully crushed. In the country districts, indeed, its embers still smouldered ready to burst into a flame at any moment, but Toulouse, from being the most heretical, became the most orthodox city in France; and for the six centuries which followed its surrender to Simon de Montfort in 1214, the Church could point with just pride to at least one city where her persecutions had been a complete success, where her authority was unquestioned, where freedom of thought was never able to take

root, and where superstition and bigotry continued equally to distinguish its rulers and its populace. It was at Toulouse that St. Dominic founded that celebrated Order, which if it has not succeeded in effectually crushing heresy, has shrunk from no cruelty, from no infamy, in its attempts to do so. It was there that shortly after his death the Inquisition was established, and there it continued to have its headquarters in France until its formal and final suppression in 1772.[1] It was there that the 'Inquisitor of the whole kingdom of France, specially appointed by the Holy Apostolic See and by the Royal authority' (such was the title conferred upon the Inquisitor-General by the Parliament), held his court, and where alone his powers were unquestioned.[2] Not only the governors of Languedoc, but even the kings of France themselves could not enter Toulouse until they had taken an oath before the Inquisition to maintain the faith and the Holy Office. After the Place Maubert in Paris, there was no spot of ground in France where during the period of the Reformation so many eminent persons were burned for their religion as in the Place de Salins at Toulouse. In 1532 it

[1] It had ceased to exist as a court of justice more than a century before this. In 1645 the then Archbishop, Charles de Montchal, jealous of a rival authority, obtained a Royal decree depriving the Inquisition of its jurisdiction as a royal court. The title of Inquisitor-General, however, which conferred much prestige and some actual power, continued to exist until 1772, when the Marquis d'Aignan d'Orbessan, Président à Mortier in the Parliament of Toulouse, shocked at the idea that the Inquisition should exist in France even in name, obtained a Royal decree for its suppression.—*Hist. de l'Inquisition en France*, par E. L. B. de Lamothe-Langon.

[2] Many as were the attempts made by the Inquisition to do so, it never extended its authority beyond Languedoc and the adjacent districts. It never obtained any recognition by the Parliament of Paris, nor by those of Dijon or Bordeaux, though, as in the case of Dolet himself, the Inquisitor-General occasionally held his courts within the limits of their jurisdiction,—acting, as it would seem, as the Bishop's official or his assessor.

witnessed the martyrdom of Jean de Caturce, in 1538 that of the Grand Inquisitor himself, Louis Rochette, who, when convinced of the truth of the reformed doctrines which he had passed so many years in persecuting, received those precious balms which the Church affords to her erring children. It was Toulouse that in 1562 anticipated St. Bartholomew by a similar massacre of the Huguenots, which for the time completely freed the city from that pestilent sect. Those that escaped the assassins were put to death judicially by the Parliament, and an annual fête in memory of the happy event was instituted in the city, and subsequently confirmed by a Bull of Pope Pius IV., who granted special indulgences to those who took part in it.[1] We may deplore the blindness of heretics and infidels in face of the clear proofs which orthodoxy offers to them, but they have as yet escaped the reproach of glorying in crimes committed in their names. The Church of Rome alone, which neither changes nor repents, still glories in and applauds these atrocities.

It was Toulouse that almost alone of the French cities received with joy the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and followed it up, in pursuance of the Royal orders, by the murder of three hundred Huguenots, who were led out of prison one by one and butchered by eight students of the University, who however did not disdain to receive payment for their pious work;[2] while three suspected councillors of the Parliament were hung in their scarlet robes in the great court of the palace. It was at Toulouse that, seventeen years later, the virtuous president Duranti was dragged from the prison into which the leaguers had thrown him for obeying

[1] Voltaire calls this fête 'la procession annuelle où l'on remercie Dieu de quatre mille assassinats.' Only eighteen years have passed since an Archbishop of Toulouse desired to resuscitate it. (Written in 1880.)

[2] The authors of the *Histoire de Toulouse* prefixed to the *Biographie Toulousaine* say that the receipts for their payments are still in existence.

the orders of the King, and brutally murdered by the mob, while the Capitouls moved no hand for his protection, but showed their sympathy with the murderers by confiscating the wrecks of his library and furniture which had escaped the pillage of the populace.

It was Toulouse, which as we should expect, became the headquarters of the League, which dedicated a solemn religious service to the memory of Jacques Clément, which bitterly opposed and long refused to acknowledge the authority of the Edict of Nantes, and which received with unbounded enthusiasm the news of its revocation. Nor were religious triumphs and glories wanting to Toulouse in the seventeenth or even in the latitudinarian and philosophical eighteenth century. In 1619 the audacious, the ingenious, but not always intelligible Vanini was burned alive in the Place St. Étienne. Eight years earlier, however, the Inquisitors of Toulouse attained a distinction in their pious work which raised them to a level with, if indeed it did not elevate them above, their Spanish brethren. If the name of brother Pierre Girardie has not attained the celebrity of that of Torquemada, and if he cannot rival that great man in the number or the rank of those whom he delivered to the secular arm, he has at least one claim to distinction which the Spanish Inquisitor, so far as I know, does not possess. It was he who, as Inquisitor-General in 1611, tried and condemned to death for sacrilege a boy of nine years of age. The child was burned alive in pursuance of the sentence.[1] In the latter half of the eighteenth century

[1] *Histoire de Saint Sernin*, par Raymond Daydé, Toulouse, 1661, p. 204. Incredible as the judicial burning alive of a child of nine would seem, the fact not only rests on the authority of Daydé, but, as M. de Lamothe-Langon tells us (*Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, Paris, 1829, vol. iii. p. 566), is confirmed by the records of the Inquisition, copies of which, made by Père Hyacinthe Sermet, he (M. de L.-L.) had seen, and by the criminal registers of the Parliament.

such an event would have been impossible, yet even then Toulouse, alone of the cities of France, distinguished itself by the execution of heretics.

In February 1762, the last of the martyrs of the French Protestant Church, François Rochette, the young pastor of the desert, and the three brothers Grenier, sealed their faith with their blood in the Place du Petit-Salin; and a few weeks later a majority of the two Presidents and eleven Councillors of the Parliament who formed the Chamber of the Tournelle condemned, without a shadow of evidence, and solely because the accused was a Protestant, Jean Calas to be broken on the wheel for the alleged murder of his son. Lastly, it was at Toulouse that the hideous massacre of General Ramel by the Verdets took place in the days of the White Terror, a murder for which the authorities refused to punish or even prosecute the murderers.[1]

Nowhere in the world in the first half of the sixteenth century was such a display of piety to be seen as at Toulouse. A hundred churches were daily filled by the faithful, each having its special ceremonies and its special festivals. 'In the capital of Languedoc, as in the capital of the Christian world,' says an orthodox modern historian of Toulouse,[2] 'almost every day was marked by one or more pious ceremonies; there evangelical voices proclaimed without ceasing the eternal verities, and the whole life of an inhabitant of Toulouse was a perpetual confession of the Catholic faith.' Michael Servetus, who had gone there a few years earlier than Dolet, and for the same purpose, the study of the law, must have been amazed at the piety and zeal of the Tolosans. He had seen nothing like it at

[1] All this is happily now matter of history only. Religious bigotry is no longer a characteristic of Toulouse.

[2] Du Mège, *Hist. des Institutions de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1844, i. 155.

Saragossa, where he had passed the preceding three years. The whole city seemed to be a temple. He found himself surrounded by crucifixes, holy pictures, relics. It was a veritable *île sonnante*. The church bells never ceased. Masses were constantly being said, and all attended by crowds. Processions more numerous than he had ever seen thronged the streets, and each seemed more magnificent than the last. Nowhere could there have been seen so pious a magistracy as that of Messieurs the Capitouls.[1] Punishment swiftly followed any offence against religion, however trivial. At the centre or bolt of the great bridge of St. Michael, finished in 1508, was suspended a great iron cage for ducking heretics and blasphemers until they died.[2]

The populace were in their religious practices such as their spiritual pastors had made them. Where a little later the chief religious festival was in celebration of four thousand assassinations, where in the most sacred part of the cathedral, that in which the body of Christ is offered for the quick and dead, the rulers of the Church placed, and where still may be seen, a carved wooden figure of a pig preaching, with the inscription underneath, '*Calvin porc prêchant*,' the common people were given up to grovelling and ridiculous superstitions. If rain was desired, the statues of the saints were removed from their places and carried in procession through the city. If a flood was threatened, prayers were addressed to the river itself, and a cross was placed beneath its waves.

Yet it might be expected that the University would stand out as an oasis in the desert of superstition and bigotry

[1] Tollin, *Toulouser Studentenleben im Anfange des* 16. *Jahrhunderts.* (Riehl's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1874, 79-98.)

[2] *Ibid.* Tollin quotes the words of the archives of Toulouse in reference to this cage : '*Mise sur Garonne pour tremper les blasphémateurs du nom de Dieu.*'

which surrounded it, that there at least would be found some intellectual freedom and some intellectual life.[1] But this expectation would be disappointed. The University of Toulouse was the last upon which the light of the Renaissance shone.

Founded in 1229, at the same time, by the same persons, and for the same purposes as the Inquisition, it long preserved its original character. The Church desired that in the same place where had been taught the doctrines which she so strongly disapproved, and which she had so bitterly and so successfully persecuted, there should be henceforth taught no other doctrine than hers, no other study permitted than that of orthodox theology. It was therefore one of the conditions imposed upon the unhappy Raymond VII., that he should establish and maintain an University for the study of the canon law and theology.[2]

It was to this Toulouse — this city of barbarism and bigotry, as he was fond of calling it — that Dolet, full of ardour for study, full of vigour and intellectual life, loving the humanists and the new learning, and already, as it would seem, filled with hatred for the monks and for superstition, and also, as I fear must in truth be added, sharp and irritable in temper, and bitter and even venomous in tongue, came early in the year 1532 for the purpose of studying,

[1] I am not sure that experience warrants this expectation. Oxford has not always been in the van of progress, whether intellectual, religious, or political. The University of Paris, splendid as are its services, was kept closely down to the dead level of the Sorbonne; while the German Universities, which it has been the fashion for the last half-century to laud to the skies, have been generally, though with some notable exceptions, found to be the submissive instruments of their princely masters, and only to have pursued those speculations which tend to freedom of thought and freedom of action, in the rare instances where the sovereign encouraged or permitted them to do so.

[2] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vii. 86.

and, as it would seem, of ultimately practising the law; and we find him speedily on terms of great intimacy with several persons who either had already made or were afterwards to make a considerable reputation, and who require some notice here. If the maxim '*Noscitur a Sociis*' is to be applied to Dolet, the result would be most favourable to him, for during his two years' residence he seems to have acquired the friendship of all those men who by their virtue or their learning conferred lustre on Toulouse. For barbarous and bigoted as it was, there were not wanting among the members of the Parliament, the professors of the University, and the students, those who sympathised warmly with learning and intellectual progress. Jacques de Minut, to whom Egnazio dedicated his work *De Romanorum Principibus*, and to whom Dolet subsequently devoted more than one ode, and whose epitaph he wrote, was First President of the Parliament. Jean Bertrandi, afterwards Cardinal and First President of the Parliament of Paris, was Second President, who, if less truly devoted to literature and learning than Minut, still desired to promote them and to protect men of letters if he could do so without injuring his ambitious aims. Jean de Pins,[1] Bishop of Rieux, was generally a resident at Toulouse, and probably one of the episcopal members of the Parliament. Jean de Caturce and Jean de Boyssone were lecturing on law and striving to introduce some ameliorations of the barbarism of the University. Jacques Bording, not yet devoted to medicine, was either studying or teaching Latin, or probably doing both. Arnoul Le Ferron, afterwards to attain fame as a historian, a jurist, and a scholar, Claude Cottereau, and Simon Finet, were all contemporary students of Dolet, and with all he soon became on terms of great intimacy.

[1] M. Boulmier erroneously calls him *Dupin*.

The Bishop of Rieux, soon to become the chief friend and protector of Dolet, was confessedly at the head of the men of letters of Toulouse, and was indeed perhaps the only one whose fame at this time extended not only over France, but wherever in Europe literary culture flourished. Like Dolet's first protector and patron, Langeac, Jean de Pins had passed a part of his life in various embassies, and had twice preceded the Bishop of Limoges as French Ambassador to Venice. He descended from an illustrious family, though of no great influence or wealth, the founder of which, sprung from the Counts of Pinas in Catalonia, had settled in Languedoc at the end of the twelfth century, after fighting by the side of Pedro the Second of Aragon on behalf of Raymond of Toulouse and Bernard of Comminges, in support of the freedom, political and moral, of Languedoc. A century later Odo de Pins received from Bernard VI., Count of Comminges,[1] the lands which were then erected into a seigneury and called by his name, and which his descendants still possess.

For three centuries the name was closely connected with the civil and military history of Languedoc, and attained still greater distinction in the annals of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Two Grand-Masters, a Grand-Vicar, and many officers and knights the family of Pins gave to the Order, and the Langue of Provence has had no more honourable members. In 1294 Odo de Pins succeeded John de Villiers as twenty-third Grand-Master of the Order, not then become sovereign, but which had its chief seat among the vines of Limasol in Cyprus, where are still to be seen decayed mansions with the arms of the knights carved in stone, and where the rich *commandery* wine still preserves their memory. If the powers of Odo were unequal to the task of ruling the brotherhood, his moderation and charity

[1] Not *Raymond*, as the editors of Moréri say.

are celebrated by the historians of the Order. In 1317 Gerard de Pins, who had distinguished himself seven years before at the capture of Rhodes, was named by Clement V. Grand-Vicar, and as such reigned at Rhodes during the dispute between Fouques de Villaret and Maurice de Pagnac, each claiming to be Grand-Master. The death of Pagnac in 1321 brought his regency to a close after he had distinguished it by his defence of Rhodes when besieged by Orkhan, son of the Sultan Osman; and for the remaining twenty-three years of his life he proved, by the services rendered to the Grand-Master and to the Order, that he was no less capable of obeying as a subject than he had been of reigning as a sovereign. In 1355, eleven years after his death, his kinsman Roger de Pins was chosen Grand-Master in succession to Pierre de Corneillan. Though not wanting in military zeal or ability, it was as an administrator, and above all as a benefactor of the sick and needy, that he acquired that reputation which has handed him down to posterity as one of the ablest and best of the Grand-Masters. Devoted from his youth to the Order, its members, and its interests, he was not blind to its faults; and instead of following the insidious advice and almost commands of its enemy Pope Innocent IV., who wished the Order to quit the island of Rhodes and establish itself in Achaia, where it would be less powerful and more submissive, he set himself to reform the statutes, a work which he successfully accomplished. But he cared no less for the welfare of his Rhodian subjects than for that of his Order, and when the plague and subsequent famine ravaged Rhodes he employed the whole of his revenue in relieving the necessities of the Rhodians, and even sold his plate and the furniture of his palace to obtain funds for that purpose.

But the ancestors of Jean de Pins did not disdain humbler if not less useful duties nearer home, and no more

honoured name is to be found among the Capitouls of Toulouse than theirs. Odo de Pins was a Capitoul in 1362, and the name again occurs several times in that and the succeeding century, while the elder brother of the Bishop of Rieux held for some years the honourable office of Viguier of Toulouse.

Jean de Pins was born in 1470. He lost his father Gaillard de Pins while yet a child, but the care and affection of his elder brother, to whose guardianship he was committed, made this loss less heavy than it otherwise might have been. Devoted to literature from boyhood, his brother gave him every opportunity of pursuing his studies, and we find him successively a student at the Universities of Toulouse, Poictiers, Paris, and Bologna. At the latter place he studied under two of the most learned scholars of the day, Filippo Beroaldo the elder, who then filled the chair of Literæ Humaniores, and Urceus Codrus, then Professor of Eloquence and Greek, from whom it is possible that Jean de Pins acquired the knowledge, then so rare on this side the Alps, of the Greek language. It is to the lessons of Beroaldo that his biographers have attributed the purity and elegance of his Latin style, but not as I think with probability, for great as was the reading of Beroaldo (Pico de la Mirandola says of him what Eunapius had before said of Longinus, that he was a living library), his Latin style, as Ginguené has remarked, is affected and vicious, and resembles rather Apuleius than Cicero. In 1497 Jean de Pins received holy orders and paid a visit to Toulouse, and then gave up to his elder brother his share in the paternal inheritance. The same year he returned to Italy, and passed the next ten years in study and literary pursuits. In 1500 Urceus Codrus died, and in 1502 an edition of his works (orations, letters, and poems) was printed at Bologna under the editorship of Filippo Beroaldo the younger, with the assistance of

Bartholomeo Bianchini and Jean de Pins. The book contains several writings of Jean de Pins, namely, a letter in praise of Urceus addressed to Jean Maurolet of Tours, an epigram addressed to Ferric Carondelet, and an epitaph on Urceus. In 1505 Beroaldo the elder died, and Jean de Pins lost no time in writing his life, which he printed at Bologna the same year, together with the life of St. Catherine of Sienna.[1] In 1508, influenced as it seems by the wishes of his family, he returned to Toulouse. Singularly devoid of ambition, either for wealth or honours, he was equally careless of literary glory. He had no other intention or wish than to devote himself to study and to the society of learned men. The first forty years of his life were thus passed, when his appointment to the honourable office of Councillor Clerk to the Parliament of Toulouse altogether altered the current of his existence, and for twelve years caused him to change the contemplative for the practical life. The ability and zeal which he displayed in the performance of the duties of his office brought him under the favourable notice of Du Prat, then First President of the Parliament of Paris, who had formerly held the office of Advocate-General in the Parliament of Toulouse. The First President had occasion to mark his capacity, and when on the accession of Francis I. to the throne the seals were taken from Estienne Poncher and entrusted to Du Prat, one of the first acts of the new Chancellor was to summon Jean de Pins to Paris, where he was brought under the notice of Francis. He accompanied the King and the Chancellor—probably as secretary to the latter—to Italy, and followed the French

[1] Jean de Pins' life of Beroaldo was reprinted by Meuschenius in his *Vitæ summorum dignitate et eruditione virorum ex rarissimis monumentis*, Coburg, 1735. It is the only one of his works which has been reprinted in modern times. In addition to the books mentioned in the text, he was the author of a tract, *De Vita Aulica*, Toulouse, s.a. All his works are extremely rare.

to the victory of Marignan and the triumphal entry into Milan. The establishment of a senate for the government of the duchy followed. It was composed partly of Frenchmen and partly of Italians; at the head of the former was placed Jean de Pins, and we are told that he gave great satisfaction in his new office.

Yet he could scarcely have entered on the discharge of his official duties when he was appointed with Bonnivet to arrange the preliminaries of peace between Francis and Leo X. The negotiations took place at Bologna, to which place Jean de Pins returned with the liveliest satisfaction, and where he was present at the interview of the King and Pope in the month of December 1515. In these negotiations he showed much ability, and gave great assistance to the King and Chancellor in bringing the affair to a successful issue, in concluding the treaty which confirmed to France (so far as a treaty could confirm anything) the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and in effecting the concordat which deprived the Gallican Church of the remains of its liberties, and delivered it over bound hand and foot into the power of the King.

In 1510 Jean de Pins was appointed Ambassador to Venice, where he continued until 1520, giving equal satisfaction to his own court and to the government of the Republic, struggling against and defeating the intrigues of the courts of Spain and Austria, — a success which he owed probably as much to the sweetness of his disposition and the goodness of his heart, which made all love him with whom he came in contact, as to his diplomatic ability, which however was considerable. He procured the renewal of the treaty made at Blois in 1512, and retained for his master the continued support and friendship of the Republic. But his diplomatic duties still left him abundant leisure, and the occupation of this in literary pursuits constituted the happiest

part of his residence at Venice. In 1516 Musurus dedicated to him the *editio princeps* of the *Epistles of Gregory Nazianzen.* In 1518 Marino Sanuto notices him as present at a lecture of Vittorio Fausto.[1] Francis Asulanus dedicated to him the Aldine *Horace* of 1519, as well in gratitude for his kindness to the elder Aldus, as in testimony of his own literary eminence. He collected a large number of precious manuscripts, with which the library, then by the King's order being formed at Fontainbleau by Lascaris and Budé, was enriched. He superintended through the press of Bindonis at Venice in 1516 a work which he had previously composed for the amusement of the children of his friend and patron Du Prat, entitled *Allobrogica Narratio.* It is a translation, or rather paraphrase, of the romance of *Le tres vaillant Paris et la belle Vienne*, and was reprinted in the same year at Paris by Badius Ascensius, at the end of a life of St. Roch, also written by Jean de Pins. In 1520 he received the appointment of Ambassador to the Court of Rome, and was at the same time nominated by the King to the bishopric of Pamiers; but obstacles, the precise nature of which we are ignorant, prevented him from obtaining possession of this see, which he shortly afterwards exchanged for that of Rieux; and about the same time he received the Abbey of Moissac. At Rome he justified the high expectation which his Venetian embassy had raised. His letters preserved among the political manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale show that when in the capital of Christendom he not only unravelled and countermined the intrigues of the Papal Court, but was able to give to his own government much information and assistance respecting the affairs of England, Scotland, Spain, and Naples. The Italians of that day were fond of saying that what the barbarians (meaning the transmontane nations) gained by arms they lost by diplomacy. But Jean de Pins

[1] Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I. cv.

seems in general to have been a match for the wily Italians, and if in the great matter of so much importance to the nation, and upon which the French King and the Chancellor had set their minds—the election to the Papacy of a cardinal of the French faction in the conclave which followed the death of Leo X.—he was unsuccessful, it is not probable that this was owing to any want of skill on the part of the Ambassador; and the election of the Cardinal of Utrecht may be attributed either to the weighty influence which Don Juan Manuel, the Imperial Ambassador, was able to bring to bear on several of the cardinals, or, as the cardinals themselves, and particularly the Cardinal de Medici[1] attributed it, to the direct and immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, or possibly even to those personal intrigues which seem almost invariably to be found in small bodies of men when electing a head (whether of a college or of Christendom), and which not infrequently result in the choice of one who is as distasteful to his supporters as to his opponents.[2]

A year after the election of Adrian VI. the political life of Jean de Pins ceased. In August 1523 he was either recalled or voluntarily retired from his embassy, and shortly after presented to Francis I. at Fontainbleau the rich treasures of books and manuscripts which he had collected during his residence in Italy. He then withdrew to his diocese, and passed the remaining fourteen years of his life either in Rieux or in the neighbouring city of Toulouse. He devoted these fourteen years to the administration of the affairs of his diocese (one of the poorest in France), to works of mercy and charity, to study, and to the society of literary men.

[1] Giulio de Medici, afterwards Clement VII.

[2] Votis Hadrianus omnium
Fit pontifex, sed omnibus
(Quis credat?) invitis.
Joan. Pierius Valerianus.

During his residence in Italy he had formed an intimate friendship with the greatest scholars of the day. Bembo, Longolius, and Sadolet were among his friends. Longolius was now dead, but with Sadolet he continued to carry on a constant correspondence, and it is no light meed of praise that to him the Bishop of Carpentras submitted several of his productions for criticism and revision before publishing them.

The see of Rieux was small in extent, with a slender population, and the duties of its bishop were light.[1] Accordingly he passed most of his time at Toulouse, where he had an apartment in the Carmelite convent, and where, as we learn from a manuscript poem of Boyssone, he had also built a large house; he was thus able to enjoy the society of such men of literary tastes as were to be found there, and who were at least more numerous than in his episcopal city.

It was not to be expected that such a man should escape the suspicion of heresy. He received on one occasion a letter from Erasmus requesting the loan of a Greek manuscript of Josephus which had come from the library of Philelphus, and which was almost illegible through age and other injuries. The letter was intercepted. The interceptors could not read it, but the hated name of Erasmus was sufficient evidence of its heretical character. The good Bishop was immediately accused of heresy, and required by his accusers to read the letter to the Parliament. The

[1] Rieux was one of the six new sees created by John XXII. out of the old bishopric of Toulouse in or about 1329, when he at the same time erected Toulouse into an archbishopric, with these six and that of Pamiers as the suffragan sees. His intention was by increasing the episcopate to rivet more firmly the fetters which he had succeeded in throwing round the weak Philip V., and at the same time to keep up the flames and still more horrible punishments, such as flaying alive and tearing in pieces by four horses, which he delighted to inflict on heretics whose orthodoxy he suspected, or on his personal enemies, *e.g.* Hugh, Bishop of Cahors, whom he charged with compassing his death by sorcery.

'furred law cats'[1] prepared to spring upon their prey, and treated the Bishop of Rieux as guilty since he was known to Erasmus. Twice was the letter read before the Parliament; the second reading being rendered necessary (so at least the humanists maliciously reported) by the barbarians' ignorance of Latin. At length it was clear that Josephus alone was referred to. There was not a single word which smacked of heresy. It was all written in the cautious and prudent manner in which Erasmus knew so well how to write. It was a bitter disappointment to the bigots. To have struck the Bishop of Rieux would have been a triumph far greater than the burning of Jean de Caturce or the recantation of Jean de Boyssone; but even those who were most anxious to prove him guilty were obliged, however unwillingly, to admit his innocence, and Jean de Pins was able to laugh at the vain attempts of his enemies.[2] He died in 1537, one of his last acts having been, as it seems, to interfere for the second time, and again successfully, on behalf of Dolet.[3] Loved even by his bigoted fellow-citizens both for his great

[1] 'Vulturii togati,' Dolet calls them.

[2] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 60.

[3] Erasmus (*Ciceronianus*) considers that Jean de Pins approaches Cicero in purity of diction, and that his style might have attained perfection had not his important public duties turned his attention from study. Duverdier (*Supplementum*, *Epitom. Bibl. Gesner.*) has made two distinct persons of Jean de Pins, distinguishing *Joannes Pinus, Bishop of Rieux*, from *Jo. Pinus, Senator Tolosanus*, and attributing to the former the *Life of St. Catherine* and the *Libellus de Vita Aulica*, and to the latter the *Life of St. Roch* and the *Allobrogica Narratio*; while De Bure (*Bibl. Instr. Hist.* tome i. p. 442) still more erroneously attributes the two latter works to Bartholomæus Pinus. See, for the life of Jean de Pins, *Biographie Toulousaine* (Paris, 1825), vol. ii. p. 183, and *Mémoires pour servir à l'éloge historique de Jean de Pins, avec un recueil de plusieurs de ses lettres*, Avignon (Toulouse), 1748. The author of this meagre but excessively scarce book is Père Étienne Léonard Charron. It is almost entirely devoted to Jean de Pins' public life, and the letters it contains consist mostly of his official despatches when Ambassador. The public

kindness of heart and his many virtues, he was respected as one who, sprung from among themselves, had attained high distinction in the State, and he was thus able to throw the shield of his protection over men suspected of heresy, and in some degree to moderate the rancorous bigotry of the Tolosans.

When Dolet arrived at Toulouse (in 1532) the Bishop of Rieux was sixty-two years of age. Age had not impaired the freshness of his heart or the enthusiasm of his disposition; and besides being the friend of all that was good among the authorities of the province, the city, and the university, he was adored by all the young students, who sympathised with the new learning, and aspired to be humanists rather than canonists, and with whom the good Bishop rejoiced to associate on those terms of cordiality and friendship which render the society of the old, when men of learning and eminence, so delightful to the young, and which at the same time tend so strongly to preserve in the former the freshness of youth. Nothing gives us so high an opinion of the kindly qualities of the man as his intimacy with Boyssone, Voulté, Bording, and Dolet, and their genuine affection for him. It was to Jacques Bording that Dolet was indebted for his introduction to the Bishop of Rieux. His reputation as a scholar devoted to Cicero, and possessed of oratorical power, had however gone before him; and the Bishop was only too happy to welcome all such, and to admit them to his intimacy; and this happiness was only increased if, like Dolet, they were poor and unknown, to whom the purse and the helping hand of Jean de Pins could be useful.

library of Toulouse is fortunate in possessing an interleaved copy, with many notes and corrections in the handwriting of the late representative of the family, the Marquis de Pins et de Montbrun, who seems to have prepared it for a new edition. Many of the notes are from the archives of Montbrun, but they contain very little of interest. See also *Analectabiblion*, i. 243.

Jacques Bording was three years younger than Dolet, having been born at Antwerp in 1511. Before coming to Toulouse he studied at Louvain, where he acquired a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, which he afterwards taught successively at Paris and at Carpentras. He probably came to Toulouse attracted by its reputation as a school of law. But the subject itself, or the mode in which it was studied, seems to have disgusted him, and he soon afterwards turned his attention to medicine, in which he was to acquire a great reputation. From Toulouse he went to Paris, and there running short of money, by the advice and assistance of Sturm, whom he had known at Louvain, he obtained a lectureship in the College of Lisieux, where he remained two years. Then he went to Montpellier to study medicine, and afterwards was appointed by Sadolet, Principal of the College of Carpentras. During his stay there he married Francesca, daughter of Ternio Nigroni of Genoa. He soon acquired the esteem of the Cardinal, and on going to Bologna in 1540, to complete his medical studies, he was furnished with letters of recommendation from Sadolet to Romulo Amaseo and other learned men. He formally declared himself a Protestant in 1544. Later in life he attained a considerable reputation as a professor of medicine at Antwerp, Rostock, and Copenhagen, in which latter city he died in 1560, holding the office of physician to King Christian III.[1] At Toulouse the two young men soon formed a friendship, and Dolet had been eight or ten months there and was already talked of as a rising scholar, when he requested his friend to mention him to Jean de

[1] See for Bording, Spithovius, *Oratio de Vita et Morte J. Bordingi*, Witteburg, 1562; Melch. Adam, *Vitæ Medicorum*, Heidelberg, 1620; *Encyclopédie des sciences médicales* (*Biographie médicale*), Paris, 1840. Bording's stay at Toulouse is not mentioned by his biographers, and is only known to us from his correspondence with Dolet.

Pins ; and as Bording had apparently informed him that the Bishop would be sure to take it in good part, he at the same time wrote to him a letter in that inflated style, full of expressions, complicated constructions, and half sentences culled from Cicero, in which the intention seems to be to say as little (except compliments and apologies) in as many words and in as pompous a style as possible, which the Ciceronians of that day especially affected. Still it must be admitted to be a not unsuccessful imitation of the class of Cicero's letters in which style and diction seem to be more thought of than substance. He tells the Bishop the great admiration he has for him, how long he has wished to make him acquainted with his sentiments, how earnestly he longs to acquire his friendship. 'I only ask that you will not be offended at me for expressing admiration of that firmly-rooted and widespread reputation which when first budding had Longolius as its witness and panegyrist. There is nothing which I so earnestly wish as that you would be to me what Bembo was to Longolius, the helper of my studies, the defender and furtherer of that reputation which I hope to acquire, but of which I am sensible I am not as yet possessed.'

The Bishop lost no time in replying to this letter, and at the same time sent a friendly message through Bording, who in a letter to Dolet thus relates the success of his mission :—

'That which you lately asked of me, namely, that I should salute Jean de Pins in your name and should procure his friendship for you, I took care to perform, but in fact you yourself accomplished this more efficaciously by your letter, which displayed so much talent, learning, and elegance, that it obscured all my praises of you and rendered them useless. However I did what I could, and shall very gladly do as much again. You have acquired favour

with Jean de Pins, and have coupled with it a great reputation for learning. He both thinks and speaks very highly of you, and is greatly pleased that your goodwill has been secured for me, and you would hardly believe how greatly he desires to see you. He says, "Oh, that I may hear his sonorous declamation!" So that whenever you come to visit him you will be made welcome, and that great favour and high estimation for learning which in your absence you have acquired, when you are present you will not only confirm, but if it be possible you will increase. Farewell.'

Dolet's letter was dated the 1st of August (1532). The Bishop replied the day following :—

'Although your letter was very gratifying as showing your great regard for me, yet it was still more agreeable to me because it seemed to be written by a man of great learning, and because it recalled to my recollection two of the most learned men of our age, Bembo and Longolius, whose most pleasant friendship I myself enjoyed, and whom I am always greatly delighted in having recalled to my memory. There was no need for my affairs and occupations to make you fear lest the interruption of your letter should be troublesome or inopportune. Such is the regard and affection I have for my friends, that for their sakes I willingly postpone my serious occupations. Further, as to what you say that you have been hindered by bashfulness from visiting me, and so rather wrote a letter because a letter cannot blush,[1] you ought not to doubt, you who share the same learned pursuits as several of my friends, men of learning, that I should have the same esteem for you that I have for them. I had indeed before heard something of Dolet which tended to his praise, but it diminished rather than added to the reality. From that time, however, I had a great desire both to see you and to read something of your composition.

[1] There is not a word of this in Dolet's letter as printed.

So that when I received your letter, from which (as one recognises a lion from his claws) I recognised the acuteness of your understanding, the dignity of your style, the force of your language, and your profound learning, I became more and more eager to see you, for the reality far exceeded my expectation. All which brings me to this, that if you speedily come to see me you will be most welcome. Farewell.'[1]

We can imagine Dolet's pleasure in receiving this letter from such a man as Jean de Pins. He instantly wrote a reply full of delight and gratitude, and proposing forthwith to visit the Bishop. From this time a cordial friendship was formed between them, which, unlike most of those of our unfortunate hero, was only terminated by the death of Jean de Pins five years later; five years during which the good offices of the Bishop never ceased, and were, it is pleasant to know, received with constant gratitude by Dolet.

[1] *Orationes Duæ in Tholosam*, pp. 85, 148, 151.

CHAPTER V

Jean de Caturce and Jean de Boyssone

'Ceux qui se font persécuter pour ces vaines disputes de l'école me semblent peu sages ; ceux qui persécutent me paraissent des monstres.'—Voltaire.

'Not being overburdened with orthodoxy, that is to say, not being seasoned with more of the salt of the spirit than was necessary to preserve him from excommunication, confiscation, and philoparoptesism, *i.e.* roasting by a slow fire for the love of God.'—Peacock.

HE University of Toulouse had been founded, as has been said, as a means of suppressing heresy. The heads of the University rivalled the Councillors of the Parliament and the Capitouls of the city in ostentatious orthodoxy, and the slightest whisper of heresy was immediately silenced. The canon law reigned supreme. Side by side with it the civil law was also studied in the text-books of Bartholus and Accursius, and to this was added a theology and a philosophy of the strictest mediæval type.

The barbarism of Toulouse was a favourite theme of the friends of letters; while the orthodoxy which prevailed in what had once been the capital and focus of the Albigensian heresy, but where alone in France the Inquisition had been afterwards established, was not only a source of satisfaction to the opponents of the new learning, but a standing proof of the benefits which the Holy Office had rendered to the cause of religion,—benefits which, as they pointed out, would be extended to the whole of France if only the powers of the Inquisition might have the like extension. Yet though the study of canons and decretals still prevailed at Toulouse to the exclusion of the new learning,—though there, more than in any University in Europe, the spirit of mediævalism was still in the ascendant,—suspicions of heresy were not wanting among both professors and students. Even in the University of Toulouse there were tares among the wheat. Men of learning had come from Italy, and had endeavoured to introduce some literary culture and some literary studies, and to show that these were not necessarily hostile either to law or theology. From the north, again, had come tidings of the heresy of Luther, and the doctrines of the Reformers had been welcomed in many quarters where the old leaven of the Albigensian heresy had never been completely extinguished. The most eminent professors were suspected of heresy, and of the friends and contemporaries of Dolet there, some in after-life actually joined the Reformed Church, and of the rest nearly all were suspected of a leaning towards the new doctrines. Shortly before Dolet arrived at Toulouse, Pierre Bunel, afterwards one of the first Latin scholars of the time, and then a young man of singular promise, had been banished from the city and University on the charge of heresy. A learned Italian named Otho[1] had shared the

[1] Otho (probably the same person with Otho Bosio) is only known to us from the reference to him in Dolet's second oration, and in his *Com-*

same fate, whilst, as we have just seen, the Bishop of Rieux himself, the constant support of the cause of letters, did not escape suspicion. Charges of heresy, indeed, began to be rife. Any disregard of an established custom, any tincture of literature, any affection for the new learning, was sufficient to found an accusation upon, whilst the condemnation of the alleged heretic was certain if it could be shown that he had not taken off his hat to a sacred image, that he had not bent the knee when the bell summoned the faithful to repeat the Ave Maria, or that he had eaten a morsel of flesh on a day of abstinence.[1]

But notwithstanding these efforts to check it, the Lutheran heresy, as it was called, certainly began to spread not only among the citizens and the poor descendants of the Albigeois, but even among the students and the professors of the University. Dolet's arrival was very shortly after that of three Augustinian friars, disciples of Luther, who in 1531 boldly preached the reformed doctrines at Toulouse. A vigorous and searching inquiry was made by the Inquisition and the Parliament, and the result was that in the first three months of 1532 a considerable number of suspected Lutherans were arrested.

Jean de Caturce, a native of Limoux and a licentiate of laws of the University of Toulouse,[2] where, as it seems, he either then or had formerly lectured on jurisprudence with great success, and where he had achieved a considerable

mentaries, vol. i. col. 1157, he implies that his banishment was at the same time as that of Bunel. The date of this latter event we do not know, but it was certainly before the end of 1530; for in November in that year we find him at Venice, and it would seem from his letters that he had then been for some time in Italy.

[1] Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* (Lille, 1841), vol. i. p. 7.

[2] *Hist. des Martyrs* (*Grand Martyrologe*), Geneva, 1597, fol. 99 b. The author speaks of him as 'licencié en Loix faisant profession du droit en l'Université de Toulouse.'

reputation, had for some time been a student of the Holy Scriptures. He had found there truths which were wholly neglected by or wholly opposed to the existing state of things, and having obtained a peace and comfort to which he had before been a stranger, he was desirous of preaching the Gospel to others that they might be the sharers of his joy. On All Saints' Day 1531, he had addressed a few of his fellow-townsmen at Limoux. His words touched the hearts of his hearers, but the fact of the meeting and of the address came to the ears of those in authority, and he had hastily to leave Limoux, promising his disciples to return at Christmas and again to deliver to them the Word of life. No doubt the cause of his hasty departure from Limoux would be made known to the officials of the Inquisition at Toulouse, and he would at once become a marked and suspected man, but he seems not to have been immediately molested, but to have been suffered to lecture for some months. On Twelfth Night, 1532 (*le jour des rois*), however, he was present at supper with some friends at Toulouse, when it devolved upon him to give the customary symbol of the feast. Instead of the usual formula 'The king drinks,' he gave 'May Jesus Christ reign in our hearts.' He further suggested that after supper each, instead of the usual profane toasts, should repeat a passage of Scripture; and this was done. His arrest followed very shortly, and the two principal charges against him were the address at Limoux and his remarks after supper on Twelfth Night. To be arrested for heresy at Toulouse was to be condemned, and condemnation meant one of two things, a public recantation or the stake. Jean de Caturce was a brave man, but he was neither a fanatic nor weary of his life. He expressed his willingness to be convinced (if that could be possible) by books and learned men, and his readiness to discuss the points on which he was alleged to

have erred. Yet the result of the discussion only confirmed him in his heresy. His friends—or his enemies—made one further attempt to save him from the flames. A full and complete pardon was offered to him without any formal abjuration or degradation, if only in the school of law where he was accustomed to lecture he would publicly declare that on three points he had erred.[1]

No wonder that he hesitated for a moment, and thought that on such easy terms it would be best to escape, not death only, but those frightful bodily tortures which the Church thought fit to inflict on men, however virtuous, who could not frame their lips to her shibboleth. But, as the narrator of the tragedy tells us, the Lord strengthened him in such wise that he could not be induced to accept any form of retractation. There could only be one result. He was ordered to be publicly degraded and then delivered over to the secular arm, that is to say, to be burnt at the stake. His sentence was carried into effect in the month of June 1532.[2] He was taken to the Place de St. Etienne, and was there degraded from the tonsure and from his University degree. This ceremony lasted three hours, and then followed a sermon by the Inquisitor. He took his text from the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, 'The Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils.' 'Continue the words of the Apostle,' cried Caturce; and as the Jacobin remained silent, he himself addressing the people said, 'St. Paul's next words are, 'speaking lies in hypocrisy, forbidding to marry, and

[1] I do not find it anywhere mentioned what these three points were.

[2] According to La Faille and Le Duchat, the 23rd of June. D'Aldeguier, *Hist. de Toulouse*, gives the date as June 1533. Twenty-one condemned heretics accompanied Caturce to the place of execution, and there made public abjuration of their errors.—*Revue de Toulouse*, June 1862, p. 463.

commanding to abstain from meat."' After the sermon Caturce was led to the Palace of Justice, and then, after being formally handed over to the secular arm, he received sentence of death. Then he was taken to the Place de Salins and burnt alive. His mind never lost its firmness or constancy. He died praising and glorifying God; and instead of the horrors of his death deterring others, the piety and innocence of his life and the firmness and constancy of his death produced much fruit, especially among the students who had witnessed his martyrdom.[1] That Dolet was present at this tragedy he lets us know by the imprudent reference he makes to it in his second oration. That his sympathies were all with the martyr and his hatred bitter against the persecutors is what we should imagine, and what he clearly lets us see. Though himself untouched by the doctrine of the Reformers, and possessed of a mind of that nature to which dogmatic distinctions relating to the unseen and unknown are absolutely indifferent and incomprehensible, he regretted the obstinacy in what was to him mere matter of words and names without any substantial reality, which deprived the University of one of its brightest ornaments, and he lamented that Jean de Caturce had not followed the more prudent example of Jean de Boyssone. Though the name of Caturce, like that of Boyssone, is almost forgotten, yet the evangelical martyr no less than the yielding professor has found a niche in the pages of Rabelais, who has not

[1] *Hist. des Martyrs*, 99 b; Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* vol. i. pp. 7 and 8. I have omitted the details of the language of Caturce at his execution given by the martyrologist, as it seems hardly probable that such freedom of speech would have been allowed to him. La Faille does not believe that he used this language, but, though a good Catholic, allows that he was a man of learning and virtue, and that he suffered death with constancy and firmness. A contemporary, Bursault, in his journal, formerly preserved among the archives of Toulouse, expressly notices this. La Faille, *Hist. de Toulouse.*

hesitated to express his abhorrence at the persecuting flames in which Jean de Caturce was consumed, and which were lighted as he was composing the first book of his Pantagruel. 'From thence Pantagruel came to Toulouse, where he learned to dance very well and to play with the two-handed sword, as the fashion of the scholars of the said University is. But he stayed not long there when he saw that they stuck not to burn their regents alive like red herrings, saying, Now God forbid that I should die this death, for I am by nature dry enough already without being heated any further.'[1]

It is probable that the evidence taken on the trial of Jean de Caturce let the Inquisition and the Parliament know that heresy was more rife at Toulouse than had been previously supposed, and it was accordingly determined that a blow should be struck of such a nature and with such force as would completely and for ever crush the nascent Lutheranism. On the last day of March (1532) the Parliament ordered the arrest of every person in Toulouse suspected of heresy. The long list included men of all classes and stations—advocates, procureurs, ecclesiastics of all sorts, monks, friars, and curés. Among them was Mathieu Pac, 'a man,' says Dolet in his second oration, 'of the greatest ability and integrity, to whose eminent qualities I cannot here do justice. He was most unjustly and oppressively accused of Lutheranism.' Of those whose arrest was ordered, thirty-two (including Pac) saved themselves by flight, and, not appearing when summoned, were declared contumacious. But amongst those who were arrested was the most learned man and the ablest and most popular professor of the University, soon to become the most intimate friend of Étienne Dolet, *Jean de Boyssone*.

The name of Jean de Boyssone,[2] Doctor Regent and Pro-

[1] Book ii. c. 5.

[2] I have adopted the spelling *Boyssone* on the authority of the MSS. of his letters and poems at Toulouse. In the Latin letters and poems,

fessor of Law in the University of Toulouse, and afterwards Councillor of the Parliament of Chambéry, the friend of Rabelais, of Dolet, of Bunel, and one of the foremost names in the revival of literature in the south of France, has slipped out of the pages of history. Of the contemporary writers who mention him, and who are loud in his praises, the greater part, such as Voulté, Dolet, and Sussanneau, have ceased to be read; yet there remains one from whom thousands of readers have at least learned his name. It was to Toulouse to study under the very learned and virtuous Doctor Boyssone that Epistemon, as he told Pantagruel, had sent his son. 'Tell me,' replied Pantagruel, 'can I do anything to promote the dignity of Seigneur Boyssone, whom I love and respect for one of the ablest and most sufficient in his way that anywhere are extant?'[1] Yet the name of Jean de Boyssone will be sought unsuccessfully in the great biographical collections for which France is famous. He is mentioned neither by Nicéron nor by Goujet, neither by Moréri nor by Bayle. Neither La Croix du Maine nor Du Verdier have thought him worthy of notice, and the *Biographies Universelle* and *Générale* equally ignore him. He was a man of rare ability and love of letters, a poet, a jurist, and a scholar, but a somewhat timid sensitiveness of disposition certainly detracted

however, he is not always so called, but sometimes Boyssoneus, Boysonnus, or Joannes à Boyssonne. De Thou calls him Boësonnus. M. Guibal (*Revue de Toulouse*, Juillet, 1864, p. 11) considers that *Boysson* answers more exactly than any other spelling to the several Latin varieties. In an epigram addressed to Scève he thus plays upon his own name :—

Dumus enim a vulgo, patrio sermone vocatur
Boyssonnus spinis arbor acuta nimis.
Est igitur gentile, vides mihi nomen acutum.

On this M. Guibal remarks, 'Le buisson dans notre patois toulousain est appelé Bouisson. Traduisons, nous avons Bouysson, Buysson, Boysson.' In the list of Capitouls given by Du Mège (*Hist. des Institt. de Toulouse*) the name is variously spelled Boychon, Bouisson, Bouysson, and Boysson.

[1] Book iii. c. xxix.

from his other eminent qualities, and seems to have deterred him from printing anything during his life, and at the same time prevented him from acquiring that influence which his abilities would have led us to expect. His Commentaries on a chapter of Ulpian have probably perished, but the public library of Toulouse contains three precious manuscript volumes of his composition, of the highest interest and importance not only for his own life, but for the literary history of the south of France ; and it is certainly strange how little use has hitherto been made of them, and by how few writers they have been consulted. A volume of Latin letters written to and from Boyssone, commencing about 1532, and extending over more than the twenty years following, contains a portion of his correspondence with Dolet, Alciat, Rabelais, Guillaume Bigot, Guillaume Scève, Arnoul du Ferrier, and many others more or less distinguished in literature. A volume of Latin poems in five books, hendecasyllables, elegiacs, epistles, iambics, and odes, many of them full of biographical details, and a volume of French poems containing two hundred and fifty-four *dixains*, are of little less value than the letters for the literary history of the period, whatever may be our opinion of the merits of the poetry.[1]

[1] The volume of letters is a small folio containing two hundred and eighty-two pages (erroneously numbered two hundred and ninety-two), or cxxxix folios (the pagination goes by mistake from 169 to 180). The first half is written in an excellent round hand of about the middle of the sixteenth century. The remaining half is in a different hand, much less legible, though varying in this respect towards the end. A considerable number of the letters in the latter half seem to have been copied hurriedly, and are consequently difficult to decipher. The book is entitled, *Joannis de Boyssone antecessoris Tolosani et aliorum epistolæ mutuæ.*

The Latin poems are contained in a small quarto volume of paper, written in an excellent, legible round-hand, the same as the first half of the volume of epistles. They are divided into five books ; the first containing the hendecasyllables, the second the elegiacs, the third the epistles, the fourth the iambics, and the fifth the odes. Into the same volume a

Sprung from a family distinguished in the annals of Toulouse, where from 1460 downwards we find several of

later hand has copied Dolet's odes to Boyssone, to Guillaume Scève, and that against Dampmartin, also four odes of Voulté, and a poem which seems to be by Augier Ferrier.

The French poems are very elaborately written on parchment in large Gothic letters. They are divided into three centuries or books, each apparently intended to contain a hundred dixains, each dixain occupying one page. The first is headed '*La première centurie des dixains de Maistre Jehan de Boyssone, Docteur Regent à Tholose.*' Each dixain was intended to have an ornamental initial letter and a rubricated title. The rubricator, however, had only reached the seventeenth dixain of the first century. The rest of the first century have no titles or initial letters, while of the second century the titles are only given up to the sixty-seventh dixain, and in the third book only up to the seventh dixain; moreover, the third book only contains fifty-four dixains, though the forty-six ruled leaves which follow show that it was intended to be completed up to one hundred.

I cannot help thinking that these volumes were prepared under the superintendence of Boyssone himself for the purpose of being given to the press. To the Latin poems are occasionally added verbal corrections, marginal notes, and suggested alterations of words, in another but contemporary hand, which may not improbably be that of Jean de Boyssone himself. Certainly the notes imply that they are written by the author of the poems. Thus in the margin of the ode against Drusac, on page 247, is written, '*Cætera epigrammata in contumelia Drusaci delenda sunt, hoc retinendum.*'

Except for the purpose of quoting the references to Rabelais and Marot, two writers alone, so far as I know, have made use of these manuscripts; M. du Mège, in a short Life of Boyssone contained in the *Biographie Toulousaine* and in his *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse*, and M. G. Guibal in a Latin thesis read before the Faculty of Literature at Paris, entitled *De Joannis Boyssonnei vita seu de litterarum in Gallia Meridiana restitutione* (Toulouse, 1863), and in two articles which he subsequently wrote for the *Revue de Toulouse*, entitled 'Jean de Boysson, ou la Renaissance à Toulouse' (*Revue de Toulouse*, tome 20, July and August 1864).

These two articles are an amplification of the thesis, and contain a biography of Jean de Boyssone, and notices of many of his contemporaries and friends, principally based upon these manuscript collections, the interest of which, however, they by no means exhaust.

M. Boulmier appears to have been ignorant of these manuscripts,

the name in the list of Capitouls, he was probably born about the beginning of the sixteenth century.[1] An uncle filled one of the chairs of Jurisprudence in the University, and from an early age his family seem to have devoted him to the study of the law, in the hope, which was afterwards accomplished, of seeing him succeed to the chair of his relation, and which Boyssone himself calls *Avita Cathedra*. Of his life before the charge of heresy was made against him in 1532,[2] all that we know is that he had pursued his studies with great credit, that he had already achieved a high reputation in the University as a jurist, and was either a licentiate or Doctor of Laws who lectured with success and ability, endeavouring, as Alciat was doing elsewhere, to introduce a more scientific spirit into the study of jurisprudence, to free it from the barbarous trammels of scholasticism, and to return to the study of the Pandects themselves, instead of being confined to the barbarous and arbitrary commentators and epitomists of the Middle Ages.

which are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance for the life of Dolet. The volume of letters contain six from Dolet to Boyssone, and four from Boyssone to Dolet, in addition to the correspondence which Dolet had printed in the volume of the Orations.

As Councillor of the Parliament of Chambéry Boyssone is frequently mentioned by de Thou, while his persecution of which I speak in the text is noticed by La Faille and by the other historians of Toulouse and Languedoc.

[1] M. Guibal judges from his correspondence that he was a little older than Arnoul du Ferrier, who was born in 1508.

[2] Herr Tollin, in the article before quoted on student life at Toulouse in the sixteenth century (Riehl's *Taschenbuch*, 1874), confuses him with Jean Boysonne, Seigneur de Beauteville, who was three times elected Capitoul, namely in 1515, 1519, and 1527, and whom Tollin refers to apparently on the authority of the letters of Servetus (?) as a leading magistrate at the time when Servetus was a student there. The Seigneur de Beauteville was no doubt a near relation of the professor, as also would be Hugues Bouysson, Seigneur de Mirabel, five times Capitoul (the last time in 1517).

Primus in Europa civilia jura latine
Boyssonnus docuit potuitque inducere morem
Miscendi sacras leges sophiamque perennem.[1]

Alciat wished he could have had him as a colleague at Pavia to aid in repelling the attacks of his barbarous and ignorant opponents. 'Had I only you with me,' he writes, 'I should easily have overcome all my adversaries.'

Jean de Boyssone had already had as a pupil Antoine de Castelnau, afterwards Bishop of Tarbes. He had either been the fellow-student or, as seems probable, the tutor of Michael de l'Hôpital, at this time a professor of law at Padua, afterwards to attain deserved eminence as Chancellor of France. His wealth and the distinguished position of his family, at this time lords of Mirabel, Beauteville, and Montmaur,[2] would naturally add to his influence and to the consideration in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, while his benevolence to the poor, his readiness to aid with his purse needy and deserving scholars, would equally contribute to his popularity. He had been the friend and patron of Bunel's youth, and when that distinguished scholar fell under the suspicion of heresy, it was Jean de Boyssone who furnished him with the means for making the journey to Italy and for his maintenance there.[3] At the moment when he himself was attacked on the same charge he was the one leading member of the University to whom the friends of learning looked to sustain its cause.

It was therefore specially important that he should be struck down. That he sympathised with the Reformers so far as they were promoters of letters is clear; that he was a constant reader of the New Testament, and especially of the Epistles of St. Paul, and an ardent admirer and student of

[1] Noguier, *Histoire Toulousaine.*
[2] Du Mège, *Hist. des Institutions de Toulouse*, vol. ii. pp. 210, 217, 244.
[3] Boyss. MS. Epist. fol. 110.

St. Augustine, we see from his letters; and these facts, as M. Guibal justly remarks, 'seem to imply in his religious faith a tendency to approach the Lutheran or Calvinistic dogma of justification by faith.' But he was essentially a jurist and a man of letters, and he is careful throughout his letters and poems to express no opinion upon any of the religious questions which were then agitated. He was by nature timid and prudent, and indisposed to express even to his most intimate friends any opinions on dangerous or controversial subjects. But at this time at Toulouse to be a friend of letters was to be a heretic. He tells us himself that it was only his love of letters and his admiration for and intimacy with literary men that gave rise to the charge of heresy,[1] and Dolet confirms this in his second oration.[2] 'What,' he cries, 'was the cause of the calamity which befel Jean de Boyssone, except his learning and the greatness of his fortune? I say positively, not as a mere casual rumour, but what I have frequently heard from persons of the greatest probity, and what from my personal intimacy with him I know to be true, that the cause of his persecution was nothing but his reputation for learning and his great wealth. Innocent of the slightest offence against religion, the informers plotted against him in order to prey upon his fortune; and were aided by some who hated him for that high reputation which he enjoyed and which they were themselves too stupid or too indolent to acquire, and by others to whose interests he had devoted himself, but who had assumed the guise of friendship only to betray their benefactor.'

Shortly after the arrest of Jean de Caturce, and probably on the last day of March 1532, Boyssone was seized and thrown into prison. The heretical doctrines he was charged with holding were ten in number. They included nearly all the heresies of Luther. The first was that nothing ought to

[1] Boyss. MS. Epist. fol. 26. [2] *Orat. Duæ in Thol.* p. 58.

be required to be held as a matter of faith but what was contained in Holy Scripture. The tenth was that we are not justified by good works but solely by faith in Jesus Christ. He was tried and convicted by the Official and the Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Toulouse, and condemned to make a formal abjuration of these ten errors or to share the fate of Caturce.

Jean de Boyssone was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made. He was in fact a humanist, a man of letters, and not a theologian; and while there can be no doubt that his sympathies were with the Reformers, whose success, so far as it was not incompatible with the progress of literature, he would have gladly seen, he was not disposed to follow Caturce to the stake. He was willing to abjure the errors he was alleged to hold. A heavy fine was inflicted upon him, and his house and property were confiscated. But the Inquisition was not satisfied even with this heavy punishment. The Church could not afford to spare a man of his reputation, of his learning, the great hope of literature in the University, any humiliation which it was in her power to inflict. His reputation as a jurist was much greater than that of Jean de Caturce, and while the latter was offered pardon on the easy terms of merely recanting in a lecture in the School of Law, nothing less than the public penitence and abjuration of Jean de Boyssone would satisfy his persecutors. Nor indeed did this satisfy them; a great number of the most bigoted Catholics complained of the excessive indulgence shown to him.[1] It was determined to surround his abjuration with all the pomp and ceremony possible. A scaffold was erected before the church of Saint Étienne. All the ecclesiastical and civil functionaries were present. The consuls attended in their official robes. Kneeling on the scaffold, the most distinguished professor of the University

[1] D'Aldeguier, *Hist. de Toulouse*, 356.

read in a loud voice and then signed the abjuration of the ten errors of which he had been convicted, then a long and tedious sermon pointing out his crimes was addressed to him and to the assembled multitude by the Inquisitor, after which he was taken to the cathedral and formally absolved by the Grand Vicar.[1]

Though the bigots complained of the excessive indulgence shown to Boyssone, the voice of the crowd was in his favour. La Faille, who gives a long account of the affair, tells us that many of the witnesses of his humiliation could not contain their emotion. Many tears were shed when the professor, by repute the most learned in the University, but whose goodness of heart and liberality to the poor and to all who were in trouble was well known to his fellow-citizens, was publicly made to undergo so bitter a humiliation.

Whether banishment was a part of Boyssone's sentence, or whether he thought it expedient to retire for some time from Toulouse, we do not know. Certain it is that immediately after his abjuration he left the city and was absent for about a year, spending the time in visiting Italy, which at that time, more liberal than France, opened to him as well as to others a generous asylum. He travelled first to Padua, still, as in the time when Dolet was a student, the place in all Europe where the greatest intellectual freedom was found, and where the most eminent humanists were gathered together. There he found several of his fellow-citizens either as students or teachers. Arnoul du Ferrier, with whom he continued for the whole of his life on terms of the greatest intimacy, and who was afterwards to become one of the most celebrated French jurists of his time, was pursuing at Padua the studies which he had commenced at Toulouse, and which were afterwards to bear such ample fruit. There too was Paul Daffis, also a Tolosan, then and

[1] La Faille, *Hist. de Toulouse; Biographie Toulousaine*, art. 'Boyssone.'

afterwards prepared to carry on the Ciceronian tradition which Longolius and Simon Villanovanus had implanted at Padua. There also he made the acquaintance of Lazarus Buonamicus, the friend of Pole, but who, unlike the future cardinal, had not deserted the cause of literature for that of theology. At Venice he formed a friendship with Battista Egnazio, the former teacher of Dolet, and with another old acquaintance of the latter, Giulio Camillo, towards whom, for what cause we know not, whether because he really saw through the visionary charlatan, or from some private grudge, Dolet entertained the most violent dislike. More fortunate than Dolet, Boyssone's travels were not confined to the north of Italy. He was able to visit the capital of Christendom; but instead of feeling enthusiasm for the remains and recollections of antiquity, or for the artistic and literary culture which surrounded him, he, like Luther, was only shocked at the vice, impiety, and luxury displayed by the Pope, the cardinals, and the bishops, and which from them permeated all classes.

He would seem to have returned to Toulouse in the spring of the year 1533.

At what time Dolet's acquaintance with Jean de Boyssone commenced we do not know, but there is little doubt that it would be very soon after the former came to the University; and although he does not precisely tell us the fact, there can further be little doubt that he was a witness of the humiliating ceremony in which Boyssone had to play the principal part. Immediately upon the latter's return from Italy we find Dolet on terms of the greatest intimacy with him. For some years a close correspondence took place between them, and the violence of Dolet found a counsellor of invariable moderation and good sense in Boyssone, and not only a counsellor, but a friend who desired to serve him, and did serve him in most important emergencies.

CHAPTER VI

The Floral Games

Je prends pour les grands dieux ces doctes sénateurs
Et cest autre troupeau, qui des poètes vainqueurs
L'estude et le savoir si sainctement guerdonne
Pour ce sacré parquet avec ses quatre fleurs,
Le jardin fleurissant aux bords de la Garonne.

François de Clari.

OOKING back after the lapse of centuries on the two or three leading events of any period, they stand out before us with a prominence out of all proportion to their real importance, and it is not without an effort that we can realise the fact that they constituted in truth but an insignificant part of the history of the period. In the midst of wars, persecutions, religious and political agitations and revolutions, the healthy business of life goes on as usual. An enormous majority of the people are wholly

unaffected by them, and even of the minority who are so affected, it is but very few whose happiness they either make or mar. Toulouse has been fortunate in her historians. La Faille spared no pains in collecting and digesting with impartiality and good sense all that he found worthy of note relating to his native city, while in the great *History of Languedoc* of the learned Benedictine Dom Joseph Vaissette, we have a work not only of local but of general interest, judicious, able, and impartial, excellent both in style and matter, and which justly placed its author in the foremost ranks of French historians. Nor have worthy successors been wanting to the syndic of Toulouse and the brother of St. Maur, and in the nineteenth century Toulouse has produced men of learning and ability, who have supplemented, continued, and corrected the labours of their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth.

The persecution of heretics, the retractation and punishment of Boyssone, and the martyrdom of Caturce, almost necessarily appear in the pages of the historians to constitute the entire history of Toulouse during the first half of the year 1532, yet between the arrest of the one and the death of the other occurred the floral games—the great annual festival of the city; and we have no reason to suppose that the sombre events by which this year they were immediately preceded and followed in any way diminished either the enthusiasm of the Tolosans, the number of the competitors, or the complacency of 'the chancellor, judges, and doctors of the college of the *gaie science*.' Unfortunately the records of the college for the fifteen years extending from 1519 to 1535 are missing, and the only fact we can ascertain as to the games in 1532 or 1533 is that in one of them Étienne Dolet was a candidate for the violet, the eglantine, or the marigold.

It was in 1323[1] that seven troubadours, citizens of Toulouse, constituted themselves into the 'tres gaie compagnie des troubadours,' or the college 'du gai scavoir,' or 'de la gaie science.' Accustomed to meet in the Faubourg des Augustins, in the month of November 1323 they addressed a letter in verse to all troubadours, inviting them to assemble on the 1st of May 1324, to read or recite their poems, offering at the same time a golden violet to him who should best sing the praises of God, the Virgin, or the Saints. A numerous company responded to this invitation. The first day was devoted to the recitation of their compositions by the contending poets, the second was occupied by the examination of the verses by the seven troubadours who had instituted the festival, assisted by two of the Capitouls, and on the third the prize of the golden violet was publicly awarded to Arnaud Vidal of Castelnaudari for the poem which he had recited in honour of the Blessed Virgin. The year following a more formal character was given to the games by the appointment of a chancellor, and soon afterwards two other prizes were added, namely, a silver marigold for the best ballata, and a silver eglantine for the best sirvente or pastourelle. Henceforth the floral games were among the principal festivals, if not the chief of all, of Toulouse and the whole of Languedoc, and their fame extended, not only through the south of France, but into Aragon and Catalonia,

[1] The foundation and early history of the Academy of the gay science and the floral games is enveloped in much doubt and confusion. The account given in the text seems to me the most probable. Some writers have endeavoured to make the games mount to a period of fabulous antiquity, and to have come down direct from the times of Roman Aquitaine, whilst others treat Clémence Isaure as their founder in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Academy or College of the 'gai scavoir' must not be confounded, as some writers have done, with the floral games. It is not improbable that the former may have existed for some time before the institution of the latter.

where imitations of them were soon after established. In 1356 Guillaume Moliniar, for many years chancellor, with the sanction of the seven *mainteneurs*, gave to the world the laws and flowers of the gay science,[1] a work which had occupied him for eight years, and which, besides being an elaborate system of laws and rules for the games, for the award of prizes, and for the degrees of bachelor and doctor, is also a general treatise on poetry and rhetoric, and one of the most important monuments of the langue d'oc and its poetry. A century and a half passed, the games and the Academy had fallen from their original importance, when they were revived, as their historians relate, by her whose name has ever since been associated with them, sometimes as their founder, sometimes as their restorer, Dame Clémence Isaure. Not only were the games restored to their pristine dignity, but a greatly increased importance was conferred upon them by the wealth which she gave to the College, and the additional and valuable prizes which she founded. For three centuries and a half the praises of Clémence Isaure have been celebrated at the floral games of Toulouse. An oration in her honour has certainly, ever since 1525, formed part of the ceremonial; and most of those who have contended for the violet, the marigold, and the eglantine, have devoted at least one of their compositions in Latin, French, or Romance to the patroness and benefactress of the festival. Jean de Boyssone wrote her epitaph, one of Étienne Dolet's happiest compositions was in her honour, and among the three hundred and forty persons who have delivered orations in her praise are seventy-seven names of men who have achieved more or less eminence. Yet the Sappho of Toulouse, herself a distinguished poet, who is said to have endowed the College of the gay science with lands and wealth, which it still enjoys, and to have established rules which are

[1] *Las leys d'amors* and *Flors del gay saber*.

still in force, to whom the grateful city erected a statue which still receives the respectful homage of all strangers, has in this later and critical age had her very existence called in doubt.

I shall not attempt to discuss this vexed question, yet the researches of the most recent and most learned writers certainly confirm the doubts, and prove at least that the verses to Dame Clémence which were formerly adduced as clear proofs of her existence were really addressed to the Blessed Virgin.[1]

Unfortunately for our history, as I have before said, a lacuna exists in the register of the floral games from 1519 to 1535, a period which includes the whole of Dolet's residence at Toulouse, in which he, and no doubt many of his friends, celebrated the praises of the belle Clémence. Yet of the scanty notices we find during this period several are connected with the names of Boyssone and Dolet. In 1528 Antoine de Vinhalibus pronounced the *éloge* called the 'sermon de Dame Clémence.' In 1529, and again in 1535, Marie Gascons delivered the Latin oration with which the games opened. Two dixains of Boyssone, addressed to Poldo de Albenas, show us that about this time, and probably in 1528, the venerated founder of the Reformed Church at Nîmes obtained, though absent, the prize of the violet, and acquired the friendship of Boyssone, whose expressions

[1] So early as 1626, Catel, in the *Mémoires sur l'histoire de Languedoc*, which he left unfinished at his death in that year, had suggested doubts as to the existence of Dame Clémence Isaure. Those who may desire to see what has been said on the subject may refer to J. B. Noulet, *De Dame Clémence Isaure substituée à Notre Dame la Vierge Marie comme patronesse des Jeux Littéraires de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1852); also his *Prétendue Pléiade Toulousaine* (Toulouse, 1853); *Biog. Toulousaine*, art. 'Clémence Isaure.' See also *The Athenæum* for April 2 and 23, 1898. The touching ballad of Florian is the mere invention of the author, based neither upon history nor tradition.

would lead to the supposition that the Professor of Law was himself one of the judges.[1] That Boyssone himself contended at the floral games is certain from the French and Latin verses in honour of Dame Clémence which we find among his poems, and it seems probable from the language he uses elsewhere that he had gained a prize.[2] The dixains with which his French poems commence, addressed 'A notre seigneur Jesus Christ la Glorieuse vierge Marie et aux saints du Paradis,' would seem to be some of those he then composed. It was usual, if not absolutely necessary, that each competitor should furnish at least one poem of a religious character, and in general the religious was the prevailing element. It is, however, the games of 1532 or 1533 that especially interest us. In one of these years Étienne Dolet was a competitor, and submitted ten Latin poems to the judges.[3] The first is addressed to the Muses;[4] the second to Phœbus, imploring his help in the contest; the third celebrates the praises of the judges, the fourth those of Clémence Isaure,[5] and the fifth those of the ladies of Toulouse.[6] Then come the praises of

[1] Du Mège, *Hist. des Institutions de Toulouse*, vol. iv. p. 335.

[2] M. Boulmier, who, however, cites no authority, says that it was in 1530 that Boyssone celebrated the institution of the belle Isaure. *Vie de Dolet*, 62.

[3] These ten poems all appear in the volume containing the Orations, Epistles, and Odes printed in 1534, and again in the volume of poems printed in 1538, in which they are inserted in consecutive order in the Third Book. In the volume of the Orations seven only are given consecutively, though in a different order, and of these, five only with the heading that they were recited at the contest. Three (that addressed to the Muses and those which celebrated the praises of Paris and of Dame Clémence) are in different parts of the book, and have no indication that they had any connection with the games.

[4] 'Ad musas; quo carmine usus est Tholosæ in publico literario certamine quum illic versu contenderet.'

[5] 'De muliere quadam quæ ludos literarios Tholosæ constituit.'

[6] 'Ad puellas Tholosæ quod in eodem certamine recitatum est.'

Paris; an invocation of the Muse, recited on the second day; two odes in honour of the Virgin; and, finally, one addressed to the Muses, 'which was the last poem recited by Dolet in the contest.'

Very little modern Latin verse will bear translation. Much of the best of it, even when characterised by elegance of diction, is wanting in originality of ideas, and sometimes in ideas altogether. Some of those of Dolet are neither incorrect nor inelegant, but they are filled principally with the usual classical commonplaces which go to make up for dearth of ideas—though indeed in addresses to the Muses, Phœbus, and to the judges, it would be difficult to say anything original, or anything in itself worth remembering or even saying. Dolet's verses are not more empty or worthless than most of those which, whether at Toulouse or elsewhere, have been deemed worthy of prizes; and if there were others as good or better than these, Latin verse-writing was certainly cultivated at Toulouse with much more success than we should otherwise be disposed to think. Whether they gained the prize we have no certain information, but I agree with Maittaire and Boulmier that the strong probability is that they did not. Modesty or self-depreciation was not a characteristic of our hero, and there can be little doubt that, had he been successful, he would not have failed to inform us of his triumph, and would not have described his poems merely as having been recited at the contest.[1] Yet from what we know of Toulouse at this time and of those who were likely to be competitors, it is hardly probable that any Latin verses superior or even nearly equal to those of Dolet would be recited; and if by the favour or ignorance of the judges inferior verses carried off the prize, if Drusac,

[1] 'Vainqueur, il n'eût pas manqué de nous apprendre son triomphe car je dois convenir que la modestie était son moindre défaut.'—Boulmier, 68.

the Lieutenant of the Seneschalty, or the old pedant Maurus was the successful competitor, this would add to the bitterness of Dolet against Toulouse, and would sharpen the darts of indignation which in his Orations he was shortly to hurl against the barbarians of the city. Two epigrams of Voulté[1] let us see that in his opinion the prizes at the floral games were not always accorded to the most deserving candidates, and that on the occasion to which he particularly referred the real victor was not the one who was allowed the prize; and Maittaire[2] suggests with much probability that these epigrams refer to the ill-success of Dolet.

It is certain that at this time the long quarrels between the municipal body of Toulouse and the members of the College of the 'gaie science' had commenced, and that prior to 1532 the Capitouls had obtained the privilege of being joined with the *mainteneurs* of the College as judges of the poems and awarders of the prizes. It is not improbable that it was on the occasion of the ill-success of Dolet and the unfairness of the judges that Boyssone composed his biting epigram against '*Les capitouls marchands qui jugent des fleurs à Tolose.*'

[1] *Vulteii Epigrammatum libri iii.*, Lugd. 1537, p. 164 :—

De Ludis Tholosanis.

Lege sub hac moriens ludos Clementia fecit,
Ut tandem partas victor haberet opes.
At Clementia, nunc facta inclementia, quære?
De victore suo, qui superatur ovat.

Ad Clementiam, quæ Tholosæ ludos literarios instituit.

O Clementia te quænam dementia cœpit,
Heredem ingratam constituisse domum?
Recta fuit forsan, sed non tua facta voluntas
Munera ni demens hæc tua nullus habet
Ut quondam victa est cæco sub judice Pallas,
Sic minor est ludis docta Minerva tuis.

[2] *Ann.* iii. 73.

CHAPTER VII

The Orator

'Nuper ventosa et isthæc enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit, animosque juvenum ad magna surgentes, veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit.'—Petronius.

HE students of the University of Toulouse at this time appear to have been no less turbulent and to have given no less trouble to the authorities than those of other Universities both before and since. If we are to believe Rabelais, the use of the two-handed sword was one of the principal things the scholars of Toulouse learned. There, as elsewhere, the students of the different nations formed societies, which though laudable enough in their objects, naturally produced disturbances between the different 'nations'; and we cannot wonder that these associations were not viewed with favour by the Parliament or the Capitouls. The French students—*i.e.* those from France of the Loire as distinguished from the Aquitains or Gascons—were the first to form them-

selves into a society, and were soon followed by the Aquitains or Gascons, and later by the Spaniards and the Germans. Once formed, each chose a patron saint and a day on which to celebrate his fête. In other respects they seem to have imitated what they conceived to be the usages of classical antiquity. At the head of each society was an imperator, who convoked and presided over the assembly, and to whom the protection of the members from all injuries was specially intrusted. The Society assembled in 'comitiis centuriatis,' and the pecuniary contributions or subscriptions were collected and managed by quæstors elected by the suffrages of the members. For the day of the fête the most eloquent of the body was chosen orator, whose especial duty it was to deliver a funeral oration over the recently deceased members, but who also, as it would seem, addressed his audience on the events of the preceding year, so far as they affected the Society or the University.[1] We can readily understand how the mutual jealousy of the different nations would be fomented by these orations, and how they would lead to actual quarrels and fights. There seems to have been a standing feud between the French and the Aquitains, the two nations who naturally constituted the majority of the students, and the disorders arising from this feud had induced the Parliament of Toulouse to issue an edict censuring and probably placing restrictions on these associations.[2]

It was apparently in the course of 1533, that this edict

[1] The custom for the students of each nation to choose an orator for the year was not confined to Toulouse, but was common to most Universities. Thus in 1516 Ulric von Hutten was chosen orator by the students of the German nation at Bologna. He seems to have thought he had spoken with moderation, but the podesta was of a different opinion, and required him forthwith to leave Bologna. Strauss, *Life of Hutten*.

[2] 'Facta a senatu in omnes generatim sodalitates præjudicia.' Simon Finet, In Utramque Doleti Orationem Argumentum, prefixed to the

was issued, and, as was to be expected, it caused great indignation among the students, and especially among the French. If, as some writers tell us, it absolutely forbade the existence of the Societies, it was distinctly disobeyed by the French, who, not content with protesting against it, continued to observe, as before, all their rules and customs, and selected as their orator a student who, by his abilities and his scholarship, was well fitted to do credit to his nation as its representative, but whose irascible temper, violence, and utter want of discretion were never more conspicuous than on this occasion.

Étienne Dolet was the unanimous choice of the French students, and on the 9th of October 1533,[1] he pronounced the harangue which, as M. Boulmier justly remarks, laid the first faggot of the terrible pile on which thirteen years later he was to be consumed. The oration, at least in the form in which, after being revised and corrected, it was published by Dolet two years later, presents little that is worthy of our attention. It is full of vigour and vivacity, written in sonorous and well-rounded Ciceronian sentences,

Orationes. But I do not gather from them as is stated by Née de la Rochelle (who is here as elsewhere followed by Boulmier), that the Parliament had actually at this time forbidden the existence of the associations. Certainly the French association continued to exist, and that publicly; and the fact of Dolet being chosen its orator without any disapproval of the authorities implies that the Societies had only been censured and their license restrained, and not that they had been absolutely forbidden. But after the delivery of Dolet's second Oration the associations were dissolved by a decree of the Parliament. The historians of Toulouse appear to have been unable to find this edict, since, though they refer to it, it is clear that none of them had ever seen it, or was able to state very precisely its import.

[1] M. Boulmier, following as usual Née de la Rochelle, states it as the 9th of October 1532; but see post, p. 106, note 1. Dolet tells us that it was delivered 'ante diem septimum Idus Octobris.' *Orat. Duæ*, p. 28.

showing the utmost contempt for and by no means wanting in abuse of the Parliament and magistrates of Toulouse, stuffed with fine-sounding phrases on the advantages of friendship and of social union, and on the tyranny and the barbarity of the magistrates who had forbidden the enlightened and intelligent French students to unite together, and so separate from the barbarians among whom they were thrown. But I find no passage worthy of quotation. As the rhetorical exercise of a young Ciceronian, an ardent student, a good Latin scholar, full of the sentiments and expressions of his master, caring nothing for consequences, reckless who is offended, utterly wanting in judgment, desirous only to display his indignation, and with it his scholarship, it is excellent, but it deals too much in generalities, and is indeed in all respects too much of a rhetorical exercise to detain us.

The oration appears to have been delivered not merely to the French students, or even to students only, but to a numerous assembly, including many other persons. It excited much irritation among the Tolosans and the Gascons, and was replied to by the orator of the Gascon nation, who, whatever his merits as a scholar, would seem to have displayed in his speech those qualities for which his countrymen have always been celebrated, and to have laid himself open to an easy and victorious reply on the part of Dolet. No part of the oration of Pinache[1]—such was the Gascon orator's name—has come down, and all that we know of its substance, except from the references to it in Dolet's second oration, in his letters to Arnoul Le Ferron, and in the correspondence between the latter and Julius Cæsar

[1] Pinachius. I do not know that his name, except in the Latin form, occurs in any contemporary book or document, but Dolet's biographers and critics have agreed in styling him *Pinache*. La Faille, however, gives *Prignac* as the name of the Gascon orator.

Scaliger, is derived from the contemptuous statement of Simon Finet, 'When the orator (Dolet) had performed his duty, a certain Gascon arose, a grammarian, a popular man, and one held in favour by the students, who that he might use the more impudence, might more petulantly abuse the French, and heap more insults on Dolet, pretended that he had to defend as well the dignity of the Parliament of Toulouse which had been impaired by Dolet, as the cause of the injured Gascons.'[1]

Besides the attacks of Dolet in his second oration, of which I shall speak presently, Pierre Pinache is the subject of two abusive epigrams of Dolet, and is referred to with much bitterness in his letters to Arnoul Le Ferron. Yet Julius Cæsar Scaliger speaks of him with great praise, as modest, learned, and eloquent,[2] though it is true this was after Scaliger had taken mortal offence at Dolet's dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*. He was at all events a man of sufficient wit and scholarship to make a vigorous reply to the French orator, filled with abuse of the latter, charging him with being not only a worshipper of Cicero, but still worse, a Lutheran and a heretic, and calling upon the strong arm of the law to punish him for his censure on the Parliament and the magistrates. It might well be that Dolet should feel bound to answer the charges of his adversary. Yet such a reply as would be suited to the gravity of the situation required preparation. When the second oration was delivered we cannot with certainty decide, except that it was between the 26th of November 1533 and

[1] Preface to the *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam.*

[2] Letter to Arnoul Le Ferron, Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Litterariæ*, viii. 584. I am unable to find any further mention of Pinache. The authors of the *Biographie Toulousaine* have omitted him from their work, as they have done many persons of more note whose names are connected with the city.

the 26th of January 1534. (It was not delivered at the date of Dolet's letter to Jacques Bording of the 26th of November, and was delivered before the letter of Arnoul Le Ferron of 26th January was written.) It was spoken before a much more numerous assembly than the first, including Pinache, Arnoul Le Ferron, and probably Jean de Boyssone. It is far more violent, far more indiscreet, and shows far more power and ability than the first. It is also much longer, occupying fifty pages of the printed edition.

Commencing with abuse and ridicule of his adversary, whom he calls '*ineptissimus homo*,' '*imbecillus obtrectator*,' '*imperitus rudisque declamator*,' and descending—as was the manner of disputants of that day—even to such personalities as Pinache's tremulous and thin voice, sunburnt eyes, and rustic countenance, he proceeds with more reason to complain, that instead of answering his first oration, Pinache had excited the Parliament against him, and instead of attacking his reputation as an orator, had brought his personal safety into jeopardy. 'Would you deny me,' he cries, 'the right of attacking him who wished not only that my reputation should suffer, but that my personal security should be destroyed, who strove not so much to reply to my oration as to excite and inflame the Parliament against me?' He then, after eulogising the Gallic name and race which had been vilified by Pinache, and defending himself from the charge of having attacked Toulouse,—a charge which he suggests his opponent must have been either bribed or drunk to have made,—he continues, 'You have asked concerning me, Who is this that strives to bring into contempt the decrees of the Parliament? Who will admit that he is the author of such an attempt? With such language you have attacked me. Then having excited yourself still more furiously, you treat me as a traitor to my country, or as guilty of a

conspiracy against it, and declare that I ought to be beheaded or thrown headlong from a rock, or tied up in a sack and thrown into the river, or at least, and as the mildest punishment, exiled from Toulouse.'

After defending himself from the charge of being too exclusively devoted to Cicero, he proceeds again to extol the Gallic name and race, and then to answer some of Pinache's personal reproaches on the subject of his poverty and the lowness of his origin; and he then makes the statement as to his family which I have already quoted.[1]

'Again,' he continues, 'raging with the desire of vilifying me still more impudently, Pinache flies at me with an extraordinary fury, and attacks me with most violent language. He exclaims that I have learned the art of speaking Latin among the Italians, at the expense of all freedom of expression, and that I can only speak in the manner I have been taught to do. Then he charges me with fickleness, with being a deserter and a fugitive, born in France, educated in Italy, at present sojourning in my native land, but contemplating a speedy return to Italy. He argues that I have become morose and irritable owing to my intimacy from my youth with Simon Villanovanus. For how, he asks, can one who was educated by that man, who was of all others the most bitter and severe, help scowling at, condemning, and finding fault with everything? So great, O Pinache, is your desire of evil-speaking, that you cannot content yourself with attacking in a most infamous manner me, who am living, but are not ashamed to calumniate the dead. But Christopher Longolius himself, by the testimony of his letters, has relieved me from the burden of praising or defending my friend. He there speaks in the highest terms as well of the pleasant disposition as of the greatness of the learning of Villano-

[1] Ante, p. 10.

vanus.[1] I admit that I passed a considerable time in a very close intimacy with him, but so far from being ashamed of having done so, I consider it to be greatly to my credit. Whatever success I have attained either in Latin composition or oratory—though I know how slight that is—I freely acknowledge that I must attribute it to him. I also admit that I have derived from him a certain seriousness and gravity, but I altogether deny that I have become morose owing to my association with him.'

Then, after saying that, according to Pinache's mode of arguing, Demosthenes, Cicero, Horace, and Juvenal would be considered as scurrilous and morose, and, whilst professing to answer his adversary, again repeating his attack on the barbarism of Toulouse, he proceeds to a long panegyric on France, the French,[2] and Francis I., leading up to a violent attack on the Gascons, which is followed by a defence of Orléans from some attacks of Pinache. The orator then proceeds to defend himself from the charge of having in his former oration attacked Toulouse, and whilst professing great affection for the city, and regret that it should be open to censure on account of its barbarism, he repeats his former attacks, and far exceeds them in violence. 'What the reputation of Toulouse is for culture,[3] for politeness of manners, for civilisation, the recent sudden departure from the city of the King of France has shown. He came, he saw, he departed. The vulgarity, the rudeness, the barbarism, the fooleries of Toulouse drove from hence the glory of France. It can-

[1] See the letters of Longolius *passim*, and particularly the twenty-sixth of the third book. In the fourteenth of the same book testimony is borne by Longolius to the 'suavissima consuetudo' of Villanovanus.

[2] All through the oration he distinguishes between the French (Galli) and the Gascons (Vascones or Aquitani).

[3] P. 52.

not be pretended with any show of truth that the King was suddenly called away by any emergency or pressure of business.'[1]

After more of the same sort we reach[2] the most interesting, indeed the only really interesting passages of the oration, those which aroused against Dolet all the bigots of Toulouse, and gave his enemies a handle they were not slow to take hold of—those in which he inveighs with true eloquence and force against the ridiculous and childish superstitions which at Toulouse usurped the name of religion, against the bigotry which had committed Jean de Caturce to the flames, which had humiliated and fined Jean de Boyssone, had persecuted Pac and Bunel, and which had aimed a blow, happily unsuccessful, at the Bishop of Rieux himself.

'None of you are ignorant that the new doctrines concerning the Christian religion which Luther some time since put forward have caused great heartburnings, and that they are approved only by certain turbulent and impiously curious persons; but you also know, when any one shows signs of genius and of an intellectual superiority over his fellows, he is forthwith suspected by men of a bigoted and depraved mind of the Lutheran heresy, and is made to experience all that hatred which this accusation gives rise to. But whenever the Tolosan furies have obtained this handle with which to pour forth their boundless hatred against the learned and the studious, how many men of illustrious reputation for learning or talent have they not striven to destroy! Who has ever known them give

[1] Francis I. entered Toulouse on the 1st of August 1533, and stayed only seven days. This passage, which seems to have escaped all the biographers of Dolet, clearly shows that this oration was spoken after 1st August 1533, and not—as M. Boulmier and the rest have assumed and stated—at the end of 1532 or the beginning of 1533.

[2] Pp. 54-61.

their vote for the acquittal of any learned man? I already seem to hear these calumniators gnashing their teeth at this utterance of mine and wickedly planning my condemnation. I seem to hear them charging even me with being a Lutheran. He who so lately reviled me (Pinache) has, I have no doubt, already determined to be an approver and promoter of this calumny; but in order that he may not even for a moment enjoy that pleasure or hope to see me convicted on so odious a charge, and in order that no suspicion of heresy may cleave to me or be thrown in my teeth, I most earnestly and vehemently declare, and beg you all to believe, that I am not in any way a follower of that impious and obstinate sect, that nothing is more distasteful to me than their desire of new doctrines and systems, that there is nothing I more strongly condemn. I am one who honours and reveres only that faith, only those religious rites, which have the sanction of antiquity, which have been handed down to us by a succession of pious and holy men, which have been hallowed by the adhesion of our ancestors. I by no means approve a new and unmeaning religious system. Only those doctrines and practices please me which are truly good and Christian, and these I love with all my heart.

'But what is the reason (it must be a bad one) that cruelty is the delight of Toulouse? That this city is so imbued with savage tastes as to take no pleasure in anything except what is most removed from, nay, most opposed to all semblance of humanity, and which cannot even be reconciled with justice? You have lately seen one, whose name I forbear to mention, burned to death in this city. His body has been destroyed, but his memory is still being consumed by the raging flames of hatred. He may have spoken at times rashly and presumptuously, at other times intemperately; he may even have acted at one time in such a manner as to deserve the punishment due to heresy.

Yet when inclined to repent, ought the way of salvation for both body and soul to have been closed against him? Do we not all know that any man may err or for a time fall away from the truth, but that only the utterly bad persevere in their errors? When once the clouds that overshadowed his mind had been dissipated, was there no possibility that it might again shine forth with a clear light? Why, when he was striving to emerge from the depths and whirlpools in which he had been overwhelmed, and to reach some good and safe haven, did not all with one consent help to throw out a cable so as to afford him the possibility of reaching a safe anchorage? His last words were to appeal from the sentence of the Archbishop and from the decree of the Parliament, and who would deny that such an appeal ought to have been received? Yet his willingness to return from his wanderings into the right path availed him nothing; nor was any change of opinion—which is usually allowed as a means of retreat for a penitent—able to preserve his life from the brutality of his enemies. Toulouse, as usual careless of humanity and culture (of which it never was a partaker), satiated its love of cruelty by wounding and destroying him. It filled its mind and feasted its eyes with his tortures and his death. Preposterously and absurdly puffed up by the pretence that it has acted in accordance with duty, and has vigorously maintained the dignity of our religion, it has really acted with the greatest injustice. It has persecuted so severely and cruelly those who have fallen under suspicion for some trifling error, or who have been altogether falsely charged with the crime of heresy, that they have been impelled by their tortures utterly to deny Christ, instead of being led gently to repentance. In short, every one who rightly considers these things will come to the conclusion that at Toulouse more than anywhere law and right keep silence, while violence, hatred, and the denial

of justice prevails. And as the city so ridiculously arrogates to itself a very high reputation for sound and faithful belief, and claims and wishes to be considered as the light and ornament of the Christian religion, let us for a moment consider whether there are any just grounds on which this claim can be supported. . . . I appeal to your own personal testimony, and I am certain that you will readily agree with me that Toulouse has not yet acquired even the rudiments of Christianity, but is given over to superstitions worthy only of the Turks; for what else is that ceremony which takes place every year on the feast of St. George, when horses are introduced into the church of St. Étienne, and made to go round it nine times, at the same that solemn offerings are made with a view of insuring the horses' health? What else is that ceremony of throwing a cross on a certain day into the Garonne, as if for propitiating Eridanus or Danubius, Nilus or even old father Oceanus himself, and inducing the waters of the river to flow in a calm and smooth course without overflowing its banks and so causing an inundation? What is it but superstition, in the drought of summer and when rain is wanted, to cause the rotten trunks of certain statues to be carried about the streets by boys? Yet this city, so ill instructed in the faith of Christ, pretends to impose its notions of Christianity upon all men, to regulate all religious matters according to its will, and to insult with the name of heretic every one who follows the commands of Christ with more freedom and according to their spirit, as though he had fallen away from the integrity and soundness of the faith.'

He then proceeds—in a passage which I have already in part quoted—to refer to Jean de Boyssone, Matthieu Pac, Pierre Bunel, and Otho the Italian scholar, and to tell the story of Jean de Pins and the manuscript of Josephus. The remaining fourteen pages of the oration are in the

same strain, chiefly passionate invectives against the barbarism, the cruelty, the folly of Toulouse, abuse and ridicule of Pinache and the speaker's other enemies—among whom Maurus is not obscurely hinted at. He reproaches them with their attempts to have him cast into prison, with exciting the Parliament against him, and with carrying a pig inscribed with his name through the city with a view of turning him into ridicule.

We cannot feel surprised that the delivery of this speech should have caused great indignation at Toulouse, not only in the minds of Pinache and the other enemies of Dolet, but also among the Capitouls and the members of the Parliament. That a young student of law should use such censures, and even abuse, was certain to excite great displeasure, and we can hardly imagine anything more indiscreet and foolish than the reference to the martyrdom of Jean de Caturce and the persecution of Jean de Boyssone. Had Dolet been the most orthodox of Catholics the reference to Caturce could not but have given occasion to charges of heresy, while his reference to the superstitions of the Tolosans and the ridicule he had cast upon their ceremonies caused him not unreasonably to be suspected, if not of sympathy with the opinions of the heretics, at least of dislike to those of the orthodox. But the delivery of the speech seems to have been followed by disturbances and riots among the students, which may not improbably have been occasioned by the oration, and the enemies of Dolet found little difficulty in bringing against him the charge of heresy, of contempt of the authorities, and of language calculated to produce a breach of the peace. Yet his biographers have assumed that his first imprisonment followed more closely upon the delivery of his second oration than was actually the fact. I have before stated that though I have been unable to ascertain precisely the

date of the delivery of the second oration, it certainly must have been some time before the 27th of January 1534, since shortly before that day Arnoul Le Ferron wrote to him complaining of the violence of the second oration, and it was not until the 25th of March in the same year that he was thrown into prison.

During this interval there can be no doubt that his enemies were using all their exertion to have him imprisoned and punished, and to excite against him the displeasure of the members of the Parliament as well as the hatred of the fanatical citizens. Four persons appear to have made themselves conspicuous by their attacks. Pierre Pinache may be pardoned for feeling sore under the lash of his adversary's speech, and had he done no more than pour his griefs into the sympathetic bosom of the great Julius Cæsar Scaliger, or even use language to the public as strong and as abusive as that of Dolet, he might easily have been forgiven, but it would seem that, feeling his own powers and scholarship to be insufficient to cope with the vigour and learning of his adversary, he was especially urgent upon the Parliament to imprison or exile Dolet.

But the young student had made other and more powerful enemies than Pinache. His pen had covered with merciless if just ridicule the most important personage of Toulouse after the First President of the Parliament, and his verses, though only in manuscript, had been handed about, and had reached the ears if not the eyes of the vain and foolish dignitary against whom they were written.

After the union of the County of Toulouse with the French Crown, the great powers of the Seneschal fell gradually into the hands of his Lieutenant-General, who, until the establishment of the Parliament, was the most important person in the whole of Languedoc. No longer appointed by the Seneschal—whose office soon became merely honorary

—but directly by the Crown, often styled the King's Lieutenant-General in Languedoc, he was the chief, not only of the civil and criminal judicature of the province, but of the civil government. His administrative equalled his judicial functions in importance, and gave him a position which, until the institution of the Parliament, was both higher in rank and in actual power than that which the First President afterwards held. The final and permanent establishment of the Parliament in 1444 gave a blow to the importance and influence of the Lieutenants of the Seneschalty from which they never recovered, yet the office continued for more than a century to be of great importance. The Lieutenant still had the right to sit in person as judge of first instance in numerous cases, and the appeal from his judgments, as well as from numerous other courts, lay not directly to the Parliament, but to his own official or deputy, the *juge-mage* or *juge des appeaux*, who at this time exercised both a primary and an appellate jurisdiction. The Lieutenant-General still, as the King's Lieutenant, exercised in Toulouse all such of the administrative functions as the Capitouls were not entitled to exercise. At the inaugural session of the Parliament of Toulouse on the 14th of June 1444, Tanneguy du Châtel, Lieutenant of the Seneschalty, sat on the right of the First President and before the Archbishop of Toulouse; and though this precedence was soon lost, yet at the time of which I am speaking the Lieutenant seems to have been entitled to sit in the Parliament among the Presidents *à mortier*. But he had retained up to this time, though he was soon to lose, what gave him in the eyes of the populace a far higher position than that of the Parliament or its Presidents, the possession, jointly with the Viguier and to the exclusion of the Parliament, of the ancient Palais de Justice, then known as the Château Narbonnais or the Palais Royal. The Parliament struggled for one hundred and ten

years after its foundation to gain a footing in the Chateau, but in vain. It had to be satisfied with such temporary accommodation as it could from time to time obtain. The Lieutenant of the Seneschalty absolutely refused it admission into the Palais. At length in 1555, on the creation of the Chamber of Enquêtes, the royal commands forced the Lieutenant to yield and to allow the joint use of the Palais to the Parliament. From this time his importance rapidly declined. The joint occupation continued for a century, after which the Lieutenant of the Seneschalty of Toulouse disappears from history.[1]

In 1533, however, the Lieutenant-General of the Seneschalty was still a considerable personage, and no one of these dignitaries was more tenacious of his position, or more determined to uphold it against the Parliament and to retain possession of the Palais de Justice, than Gratien du Pont, Sieur de Drusac, who now held the office. Unfortunately no one could be less fitted for its duties or more likely to bring it into discredit by his folly and vanity. The Sieur de Drusac's great ambition was to shine, neither as an administrator nor as a judge, but as a poet. If we give him that appellation, we must qualify it by saying he was one of those indifferent poets whom neither gods, men, nor columns endure. Embittered against the fair sex, as it would seem owing to the ill-success of his love affairs (we learn from one of Dolet's odes that he had obtained a divorce from his wife)

[1] See, as to the Lieutenants of the Seneschalty and their powers, *Les Parlements de France, Essai Historique sur leurs usages, leur organisation, et leur autorité*, by the Vicomte de Bastard D'Estang, Paris, 1857, 2 vols. 8vo. This work, though nominally on the French Parliaments generally, is almost wholly devoted to the Parliament of Toulouse. It is a book of considerable interest, containing much information which would be sought in vain elsewhere. Its main object, however, seems to be to laud the family of Bastard, many members of which filled high offices connected with this Parliament.

and to the ridicule of the ladies of Toulouse, he endeavoured to avenge himself by a bitter diatribe in verse against his persecutors, which he published under the title of *Controverses des sexes masculin et féminin*. Conceived in the worst possible taste, and written in the worst possible style, such of the French critics as have noticed it have placed it at the nadir even of the mass of bad poetry which, though with some brilliant exceptions, was produced in the sixteenth century. Yet the author flattered himself that he had composed a treatise which would be a model of style and of every kind of verse to the youth who should desire to learn to compose poetry or to study rhetoric, and which should at the same time be of the greatest moral benefit by displaying wicked women in their true colours, and pointing out the snares which they set for the unwary. The author supposes himself sitting in a wood, when 'sexe masculin' appears before him, complains of 'sexe féminin,' and entreats him to take up the defence of the outraged and oppressed male sex. He at first hesitates, but at length consents; and then follows a series of tedious harangues, in which, after commencing by the statement that women were not made in the image of God but in that of the devil, he proceeds to heap together all the ill that he could find said of women by any author, sacred or profane, and to narrate all the stories of wicked women to be found in Scripture, in history, in prose fiction, and in poetry. Mixed up with all this is every kind of verse and rhyme, and all the tedious and pedantic trivialities of which the old French arts of poetry are so full. 'If such puerilities,' justly remarks the Abbé Goujet (*Bibl. Franc.* vol. xi. p. 187), 'joined to the barbarous style of the author, disgust the reader, the book becomes still more unsupportable by the excess of his satire and by the indecent portraits which he draws'; and which, it may be added, have neither wit nor ingenuity to recommend them. Satisfied that

posterity will interest itself greatly in the book and its author, the latter is careful to tell us the day on which he himself completes his work,—

> L'an mil-cinq cens trente et sixième
> Du mois de may le jour vingt-et-cinquiesme.

Yet we have an earlier, though not complete, edition printed by Colomies at Toulouse in 1535, though dated 1534,[1] which is the earliest at present known. It is however clear from this edition that the first book had been composed for some years, and it is evident from the letters and poems of Dolet that it had been in circulation for some time when he left Toulouse in the summer of 1534. It is certainly possible that it may have been circulated in manuscript, as was not infrequent at that day. Yet I strongly incline to think that an edition of the first book was printed in or before 1533, and that a copy may possibly yet be found.[2]

[1] The date, Jan. 30, 1534, would probably be Jan. 30, 1535, new style.

[2] It was reprinted at Toulouse in 1536, again at Paris in 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1541. To the editions of and subsequent to 1536 are added the proceedings of the trial before Dame Reason of the complaint of the masculine sex. It is entitled, 'Requeste du sexe masculin contre le sexe féminin. . . . Baillée à Dame raison. Ensemble le plaidoye de partis Et arrest intervenue.' It is needless to say the decree is in favour of the 'sexe masculin.' Besides the *Controverses*, Drusac was the author of *Art et Science de Rhetoricque metriffiée*, Tholose, Vielland, 1539, which, like all the editions of the *Controverses*, is extremely rare. For Drusac and his works see Goujet, *Bibl. Franc.* xi. pp. 184-192; *Biographie Toulousaine*, 188 (this article is by M. Lamothe-Langon); La Croix du Maine (who erroneously calls him *Gabriel* Dupont), and a note of the President Bouhier in the edition of La Croix du Maine given by Rigoley de Juvigny, vol. i. 253. By far the best notice is that of Goujet, but in his last paragraph he has been led into an error, which I have not seen anywhere corrected or even noticed: 'Je trouve aussi citées (Catalog. de Barré, p. 445) d'autres *Controverses des sexes masculin et féminin* par François Chevallier imprimées en 1536 in 16°. Mais j'ignore le but et la méthode de cet ouvrage. La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier ne

Dolet had undertaken the defence of the fair sex against its detractor, and had thereby acquired some favour with the ladies of Toulouse, but the merciless ridicule which he poured upon both the man and his book accounts for, if it does not justify, the bitter hostility of the Lieutenant-General of the Seneschalty. Six odes of Dolet are directed '*in Drusacum vulgarem poetam Tholosanum qui librum in fœminas scripsit.*' In one of his odes Dolet says that Drusac's book would be most useful to the grocers to wrap

parlent point de cet auteur et je ne le connois que par la citation de son livre et par un rondeau qu'il a fait à la louange des controverses de Gratien Du Pont, qu'on lit à la tête de ce dernier ouvrage, et dans le titre duquel rondeau François Chevallier est dit *natif de Bourdeaulx* et qualifié *Collégié du Collège de Foix à Tholose*.' The book which is erroneously cited as by François Chevallier is no other than the edition of Drusac's own book printed at Toulouse in 1536, in which the rondeau of Chevallier addressed to Drusac will be found. In 1564 the *Controverses* were formally answered by François Arnault, Seigneur de la Borie, in his *Anti Drusac, ou Livret contre Drusac faicte à l'honneur des femmes nobles bonnes et honnestes*, Tholose, Colomies. This book is erroneously attributed by M. Lamothe-Langon, who quotes Du Verdier as his authority, to another Drusac. Nothing of the kind is, however, to be found in Du Verdier, who gives as the author François la Borie de Valois, Docteur es droits natif de Cahors (Valois, according to La Monnoye, is a mistake for Valons, a bourg of Vivarais). François la Borie was, according to Goujet, the author of *Antiquités de Périgord*, and the translator of a treatise of Maldonat on Angels and Dæmons, and was Canon of Périgueux, Dean of Carenac, Prior of Lurcy, Grand Archdeacon of St. Andrew of Bordeaux, and Chancellor of the University of that city. He was also the author of a Latin treatise, *Anti atheon per rationes aliquot congestum physicas quibus athei tanquam suis baculis seu telis icti refelluntur Deum unum esse æternum omnipotentem plenissimum misericordiæ et bonitatis infinitæ nostrique sollicitum*, Tolosæ, Guidone Boudevilles, 1561. (Du Verdier, *Supplement to Gesner*.) In the notice of Gratien du Pont in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (almost wholly taken from Goujet), after the statement that his book was refuted by Arnault de la Borie, we are referred to the article 'La Borie;' but, as in so many similar cases in that work, no such article is to be found, nor have I been able to find anywhere any biographical notice of François Arnault de la Borie.

up pepper and such condiments in, and suggests other still more humiliating purposes for which it could be usefully employed ; while in another ode, printed with the orations and written by a friend of Dolet, whose name is not given, Dolet is charged with a too flattering partiality to Drusac in suggesting that any use could be made of such rubbish, and the writer explains with considerable humour, but in language which will hardly bear translation into a modern tongue, why the book of the unfortunate Lieutenant of the Seneschalty was unsuited even to the humiliating purposes to which Dolet had assigned it. The authorship of this ode has hitherto remained unknown, and if there are any of my readers who have already made acquaintance with Jean de Boyssone in the pages of M. Guibal, they will perhaps learn with some little surprise that, as appears from the Toulouse manuscript, the author of the humorous, though certainly coarse and Rabelaisian ode which I give in the note, is the grave, religious, and studiously moderate Jean de Boyssone.[1]

Of the Juge-mage Guillaume Dampmartin we know nothing, except that, as was natural in the official of the Lieutenant-General, he allied himself with his chief. It was he who shortly afterwards committed Dolet to prison, and

[1] Tergendis natibus tuum libellum
Aptum dixerat optimus poëta
Blanditus tibi credo tunc poëta.
Nam nullus natibus suis Drusace
Dignum judicat hunc tuum libellum
Insulsum, lacerum, asperum, protervum,
Incultum, rigidum, parum pudicum
Et duris salebris ineptiorem ;
Atque ipsis natibus magis lutosum :
Quare tergere podicem volentem,
Chartas ut fugiat tuas monemus,
Ni vult surgere fœdiore culo.

to his influence and that of Drusac the final expulsion of Dolet from Toulouse was due.[1]

But besides these two high officials, Dolet had excited the hatred of a certain Le More or Maurus, a grammarian and schoolmaster. Among the poems of Dolet, of Jean Voulté, and of Hubert Sussanneau, are to be found numerous biting epigrams on this man, described as a grammarian and pedagogue, and referred to by the two former as a bitter enemy of Dolet. He appears to have been a man of some learning, at this time a schoolmaster at Toulouse, extremely hostile to the new learning and to the new opinions which were then coming into vogue. An old man with a young wife, it is easy to see what an opportunity he afforded to the epigrammatists. His name will be sought for in vain in the biographical collections, but he may clearly be identified with one Jean Maur[2] of Coutances (*Joannes Maurus Constantianus*), called by Duverdier, Jean le More de Constance, who printed at the little town of La Réole in 1517 three short tracts of each of which one copy only is known. From La Réole he seems to have gone to Lectoure and afterwards to Montauban, where he translated into French and Basque the treatise of Grapaldo, *De partibus Ædium*, printed, but without date, at Montauban by Jean Gilbert. In 1530 we find him at Toulouse, where he published an edition and commentary on the distiches of Fausto Andrelini, from the dedication of which, addressed 'Mathurino Almandino Angeliaco,' it would seem he had not long left Montauban. This commentary was frequently reprinted between 1530 and 1540 both at Lyons

[1] Dampmartin succeeded Drusac in the office of Lieutenant of the Seneschalty (Du Mège, *Instit. de Toulouse*, ii. p. 267.)

[2] Since the publication of the first edition of this book, M. A. Claudin has devoted an article to Maurus in *La Revue Catholique de Bordeaux* reprinted separately under the title *Les Origines de L'Imprimerie à La Réole en Guyenne*.

and Paris, and is the only one of Jean Maur's works with which I am personally acquainted. The distiches of Andrelini, like the rest of his poems, are poor and commonplace, and deserve attention neither from the style nor matter. 'They want but one thing,' said Erasmus; 'that which is called *νοῦς* in Greek, *mens* in Latin.' Yet they acquired that popularity which in all times seems to be easily obtained by so-called proverbial philosophy, however foolish or commonplace, when delivered in measured and stilted phrases. A biographer of Fausto Andrelini[1] describes him as 'a mere word-monger, poor in thought, cold in poetical feeling and fancy, and selfishly malignant in character'; a description which is precisely applicable to his commentator. In stilted and pompous language—hardly a sentence of which is not disfigured by some barbarous pentasyllable unknown even to the writers of the iron age of Latin literature—Maurus amplifies and elaborates the commonplaces of his author, finding a recondite meaning in each sentence and word, much after the same fashion of worthless and dreary verbosity with which preachers and commentators have endeavoured to elaborate theological systems out of the most ordinary and simple texts of Holy Scripture. Only when Andrelini speaks of old age does his commentator (a bachelor far past middle age but contemplating matrimony) wax enthusiastic and natural. On the verse of Andrelini, 'Disticha composui matura digna senecta,' the old pedagogue enthusiastically remarks, 'Matura, id est senili et sapienti; maturum enim est quod sole jam coctum perfecte temperatum est. Unde per translationem maturus homo dicitur qui omnino ætate perfectus est, quo tempore maxime sapiens habendus. Unde matura aetas: id est, senilis et perfecta ac sapiens.'

[1] Professor Spalding, in the *Biog. Dict.* of the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge.

But if the enemies of Dolet were active and virulent, he had acquired and still retained, notwithstanding the intemperate character of his speech, and probably from a secret sympathy for the opinions of which he professed himself, if not the defender, at least the apologist, the esteem of all the friends of learning and progress at Toulouse. In the volume which contains the two orations are to be found three books of epistles which passed between Dolet and his friends. All these appear to have been written between the latter end of the year 1532 and the month of August 1534, when he had arrived at Lyons, and several of them, and those the most interesting, were written in the interval between his second oration and his first imprisonment. Of two of his correspondents, Jean de Pins and Jean de Boyssone, I have already spoken, and their letters raise very much our opinion of Dolet. With a third correspondent, however, he interchanged several letters which especially illustrate this interval.

Among those contemporaries who upon Dolet's arrival at Toulouse were students of law at the University, there was no one who achieved more success in the schools, or who gave greater promise of eminence as a jurist, than Arnoul Le Ferron. Born in 1515, and thus seven years younger than Dolet, he had at the time of the delivery of the orations nearly completed his course of law, and though only eighteen years of age, was already preparing, as it would seem with the sanction of the authorities, a course of lectures. His father, Jean Le Ferron, an Italian by birth, had achieved a high reputation as a lawyer at Verona, and was brought from that city by the Cardinal de Bourbon, who obtained for him the appointment of Councillor to the Parliament of Bordeaux.[1] His young son Arnoul accompanied him to

[1] Boscheron des Portes, *Hist. du Parlement de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux,

France (or was born shortly after his arrival). In 1536, when only just twenty-one years of age, Arnoul was appointed by Cardinal Du Prat a Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux in succession to his father. The age required for the office to which he was appointed was twenty-five, but he had already given such proofs of his ability that his future colleagues, the President and Councillors of the Parliament, made themselves responsible to the Cardinal for his capacity for the office notwithstanding his youth, and letters of dispensation were accorded him.[1] The expectation of his colleagues was completely justified. His appointment was inaugurated by his great work on the customs of Bordeaux, which at once gave him a high reputation, and long continued to be the standard authority on the subject. 'His Commentaries on the laws of his native province,' says de Thou, 'are worthy of a good citizen and an excellent jurisconsult.' For the remaining twenty-seven years of his life he continued one of the chief ornaments of the Parliament of Bordeaux, though he never received any promotion, but remained to his death a simple councillor. Though his genius and literary merits pale by the side of his illustrious colleagues La Boëtie and Montaigne, yet he alone among the members of the Parliament of Bordeaux in the sixteenth century achieved any fame as a jurist. But it was not only in this capacity that he obtained a high and deserved reputation, as a judge he was distinguished by his integrity, his impartiality, and his love of justice; and though in dealing with matters of heresy, and with the charges made against

1878), vol. i. 117. According to this writer Arnoul was born at Verona, but all other authorities make him a native of Bordeaux.

[1] The same thing occurred a few years later in the case of a still more eminent man. When Étienne de la Boëtie was appointed a Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux in 1553, he required letters of dispensation on account of his youth (he was then twenty-three) before he could be admitted. (*Id.* i. 119.)

men of letters in reference to their opinions, he ever showed himself on the side of toleration and of mercy, he never permitted his personal affections or his personal sympathy to outweigh the claims of justice or of right. There was no one with whom he was on terms of greater intimacy, or whom he regarded with greater admiration, than Julius Cæsar Scaliger. It may have been as a native (or the son of a native) of Verona that he first excited the interest of the descendant of Can Grande. And it is not unlikely that between Scaliger and Jean Le Ferron there would have been an early acquaintance. Before Arnoul was twenty-one years of age he had become the Atticus of the Cicero of Agen, and the letters of Scaliger written to his young friend, some of them as early as 1535, show that the great scholar treated him as in every respect his equal, and so far as internal evidence goes, they would make the reader think they were written to a man of great learning, eminent position, and mature age. In 1538 Scaliger was charged with heresy; he had selected as the tutor of his son, Philibert Sarrazin, a notorious heretic; heretical books were found in his possession, and he was further accused of having said that Lent was neither an institution of Christ nor of the Apostles, and that transubstantiation was only made an article of faith by the Council of Lateran, and of having eaten flesh on a fast day. The Inquisitor-General received a special commission from the King to inquire into cases of heresy at Agen, but fortunately for Scaliger, his case was withdrawn from the Inquisitor, and three councillors of the Parliament of Bordeaux were specially appointed by the King to inquire into the charges against him. As yet the King loved literature and learned men, and the selection as the judges of the charge of heresy against Scaliger, of Briand de Vallée the friend of Rabelais, Geoffroy de Chassaigne the most popular of the councillors and an accomplished Latin poet, and Arnoul

Le Ferron the intimate friend and correspondent of Scaliger, did not indicate a desire to press hardly upon the accused. With such judges the result could hardly be doubtful, and Scaliger was soon set at liberty.[1] But some years later, in a lawsuit before the Parliament to which Scaliger was a party, Le Ferron, notwithstanding the urgent pressure of his friend, refused to place the claims of friendship before those of justice, or to allow his judgment to be warped by his affections, and a decision adverse to Scaliger was pronounced, which drew down upon the judge two or three violent and offensive letters. But it was not only as a jurist and a judge that Le Ferron acquired a high reputation. In literature he attained eminence as a historian and as a scholar. His continuation of the History of Paulus Æmilius, first printed by Vascosan in 1550, was in its day a signal success.[2] Yet though it was frequently reprinted, and translated into French in its author's lifetime, it is a book which is not often referred to, still less read, and seems indeed to be but of slender merit. According to La Monnoye,[3] 'Ferron's History is filled with unreasonable digressions and wearisome harangues, and causes immense trouble to the reader by the extraordinary and absurd manner in which he writes many

[1] De Bèze, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, book i., and Gaullieur, *Hist. du Collège de Guyenne*, 157.

[2] Moréri tells us (and it has often since been repeated) that the reputation of this and his other works gained for him the name of Atticus. But this is incorrect; the name of Atticus was given to him by J. C. Scaliger, as we have seen, as early as 1535, before he had published anything, and when he was only twenty years of age. See Scaliger's letters given by Schelhorn in the eighth volume of his *Amœnitates Literariæ*, pp. 554-618. The following verses of Scaliger explain why he gave the name of Atticus to his young friend :—

Ferronus ille propter eloquentiam
Puram, suavem, candidam, scitam, gravem.
Quem ego vocavi jure primus Atticum.

[3] Note to Duverdier, vol. i. p. 155 (edition of Rigoley de Juvigny).

names both of persons and places, which render them difficult to identify, and which are not always correctly explained by his translator Jean Regnard.'[1] On the other hand, Le Gendre[2] judges him more favourably, and says, 'If the continuer has not written with as much elegance as the historian (Paulus Æmilius) whom he continues, at least he is more exact and very much better informed. His History is full without being too long, and contains many interesting anecdotes and curious details.' J. C. Scaliger, whose judgments on the works of his contemporaries usually reflected his love or hatred of their persons, and who in many of his letters had lauded Le Ferron up to the skies, having been defeated in his lawsuit about the time of the appearance of the first edition of the work, at the end of one of his angry letters thus speaks of the *Historiæ*:—'Ineptæ sunt, pueriles sunt, semibarbaræ sunt, ineruditæ sunt.'[3] Le Ferron merely burst out laughing on reading this letter, and Scaliger soon afterwards changed his tone into one of greater moderation. Arnoul Le Ferron was also an accomplished Greek scholar, itself a distinction at a time when on this side the Alps a knowledge of Greek was rare. He translated into Latin several tracts of Plutarch, and also the book attributed to Aristotle upon Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias, which he (Le Ferron) appended to an edition which he published of a tract of Bessarion in defence of Xenophanes and an essay by himself, *Pro Aristotele adversus Bessarionem*. He died in 1563, when only forty-eight years of age, to the grief of all who loved letters or who rejoiced to see the judicial bench filled by men of learning and probity.

In the edition of his *Commentarii consuetudinum Burdegalensium*, published in 1565 shortly after his death, we

[1] This is a not uncommon fault in the Latin writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[2] *Hist. France*, i. 12.

[3] *J. C. Scaligeri Epistolæ*, Hanoviæ, 1612, p. 178.

find no less than forty-four pieces of verse in his honour, including one by Jean de Boyssone.[1]

Though only in his nineteenth year he was already preparing a course of lectures on some branch of law, not improbably on the customary law of Guyenne. He had for some time been on terms of intimacy with Dolet, and had been deeply and favourably impressed with the abilities and learning of the latter. Though, according to M. Boscheron des Portes, a native of Verona, he had all his affections in Aquitaine, which he considered and spoke of as his native province. Accordingly Dolet's fierce attack on Aquitaine and the Gascons could not fail to be most distasteful to him, and we need no better proof of his admiration and regard

[1] For Arnoul Le Ferron see Taisand, *Vies des plus célèbres Jurisconsultes*, Paris, 1737 (a useful book, and very difficult to meet with). Teissier, *Eloges des Hommes Savans*, Leyden, 1715, vol. ii. p. 106; *J. C. Scaligeri Epistolæ;* Sainte Marthe, *Elogia;* Moréri, *Le Grand Dict. Hist.;* L. de Lamothe, *Notes pour servir à la Biographie des Hommes utiles ou célèbres de la ville de Bordeaux*, Paris, 1863; Boscheron des Portes, *Hist. du Parlement de Bordeaux*, 1878. [This last is a most disappointing work. In the prospectus which invited subscriptions a biographical account of Arnoul Le Ferron and of many other eminent members of the Parliament of Bordeaux were promised, but the notice of Le Ferron (as well as of the rest) is most meagre and unsatisfactory; the only fact of interest is the statement that Arnoul Le Ferron was born at Verona. The book is written without method, and contains none of the details as to the constitution and authority of the Parliament which we naturally look for, and which are most important to enable us to understand the legal procedure.] Duverdier (*Bibliothèque Françoise*) confounds Arnoul *Le Ferron* with Arnoul *du Ferrier*, a more celebrated contemporary, at this time or shortly afterwards a professor of law in the University of Toulouse, and subsequently President of the Court of Requests in the Parliament of Paris, and attributes to Le Ferron the very scarce French translation by Du Ferrier of Athenagoras, which was printed at Bordeaux by Simon Millanges in 1577. Paul Freher in the notice of Doneau (Donellus) in his *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum* (Nuremberg, 1688), p. 294, with a similar confusion names Arnoul du *Ferron* instead of Arnoul du *Ferrier* as the professor of law at Toulouse under whom Doneau studied.

for his friend, than the fact that this attack did not alienate his mind from Dolet, but was only made a subject of a friendly and temperate remonstrance. Between the delivery of the second oration of Dolet and his arrest six long letters passed between the two young men ; interesting as showing their mutual regard and affection, and also as letting us see what was thought and said at Toulouse on the subject of the dispute between Dolet and Pinache.

From these letters I now proceed to give some extracts, omitting the compliments, the excuses, and the self-depreciation which make so large a part of all the Latin correspondence of the Ciceronians of the Renaissance, and also omitting the greater part of Le Ferron's strictures on Dolet's oration for its attack upon the Gascons, and Dolet's elaborate defence of himself and, under colour of defence, repetition of the attack. The correspondence commences with a letter of Le Ferron written shortly before Jan. 27, 1534.

Arnoul Le Ferron to Étienne Dolet

'I am on terms of great intimacy with Julius Cæsar Scaliger, a most accomplished man devoted to all kinds of liberal culture. We have so many grounds of friendship that you would hardly find any persons more intimate than we are. In reply to a letter in which I made mention of your singular erudition, eloquence, and culture, he wrote most pleasantly and gracefully that he had as great an esteem for you as I had, and that he had already heard of your eloquence ; and although he is a man exceedingly averse to ingratiating himself with others, he specially desired me to salute you in his name. I do this most gladly, as well on account of the message itself, as in order to perform that duty to him which he imposed on me in his letter. I think you will highly esteem his learning, for he is of the number

of our Ciceronians, and well known to the learned from the oration which he has published in defence of M. Tullius against Erasmus of Rotterdam. At the same time the message is very agreeable to me, since it furnishes me with an excuse for writing to you. For, my Dolet, I could bring many witnesses, and those of high repute, to prove how great account I make and always have made of you. But I am greatly surprised that in the oration you lately delivered against Pinache you should have attacked our Aquitaine. For, so far as I know, the province has never injured you. But you say "I have been provoked by Pinache." You might have answered the man without attacking the province. You best know what was the motive of your undertaking, and I certainly will not believe that you would have descended to these attacks unless you had been urged and provoked to them. Pinache is said to have no intention of replying to your oration, so that he who is the cause of all this danger and flame now gives no aid in extinguishing it. I wish that before engaging in the conflict he had properly calculated his strength, and considered whether he was able by his own force to silence you when provoked and resisting. Of this tragedy I am a spectator, though I must say a somewhat unwilling one. For I fear, my Dolet, lest hurried by your feelings you know not whither, and indulging in great heat and excitement, you may be actually consumed by your anger, whilst he, either wounded or conquered, may attempt some injury to you, and may even prepare snares against your life. Farewell.'

Étienne Dolet to Arnoul Le Ferron

'That you should take the trouble of writing to me is, in the first place, agreeable to me, and I am greatly pleased by your extreme good-will. That Julius Cæsar Scaliger has by

your means become friendly to me is something for which I confess I am greatly indebted to you, and if I do not immediately requite so great kindness I shall yet strive by my gratitude to imitate your friendly disposition. I beg you to be persuaded of this, that you have conferred a favour on one who will remember it, and to understand that I shall spare no pains if there is anything you wish for in which I can be of service to you. . . .

'Of my good-will to Cæsar Scaliger in return for his to me I shall not write to you at length; this only I ask of you, first to bear in mind yourself, then to strive to persuade Scaliger that there is no one for whom I have a greater regard or of whom I speak more in praise. You will salute him from me, and will without hesitation offer him my services.

'From Toulouse, Jan. 27.'

Arnoul Le Ferron to Étienne Dolet

'I received your letter of the 27th of January from your servant, who found me troubled with a disorder of the bowels, and besides wearied and lying down in retirement. But your letter so gratified me that it both allayed the disease under which I was labouring and filled my mind with a great amount of pleasure. . . .

'You must not think that it was only to Cæsar Scaliger that I have praised your excellence. I have also praised it to dear friends of mine at Bordeaux, many of them members of the Parliament, whose friendship I enjoy through my father, who is a councillor of that body. So that if your plans should ever admit of a journey to Bordeaux, you will know that there are some there who are well disposed towards you. I wonder greatly why you so long delay to give to the world a specimen of your rich erudition. . . .

'I now come to that part of your letter in which you deny that you have attacked our Aquitaine. . . . You were vexed that your native Gaul was insulted by Pinache, and, that it might not be done with impunity, you attacked Aquitaine, and retaliated upon it his insults. What is the meaning of all those repetitions of the word "Gascons" in your speech? "Who are assassins? The Gascons. Who are robbers, who are given up to every kind of wickedness? The Gascons." You know better than I what else you said of the same kind, for the laughter of the French which followed these questions prevented me from hearing what you said next. And then as a chorus, after they had abundantly applauded you with laughter, they cried out, as I understand, "How well he paints Aquitaine in its proper colours." I should not write thus to you did I not know that by that part of your oration to which I have referred many of my Gascon fellow-countrymen were offended, and that nothing was listened to with greater pleasure by your Gallic friends. How much better would it have been to have refrained from Aquitaine, and to have poured forth all the force of your eloquence upon your adversary. . . . I do not say these things at random, for I know many who before the oration spoke of you with great respect, but who are now altogether hostile to you; and I doubt not that there are many, even of those who laughed with you, whom if you knew more intimately you would see are not really your friends, since they detract from your reputation by bitter and unjust speeches. How eagerly I have devoted myself to defending your reputation many of the Gascons know, and indeed, I fear when they see my affection for you, they consider me a deserter into your camp. . . . In answer to your inquiry about Pinache, unless I deceive myself he will never reply to your oration, unless indeed (for he is of a light and inconstant disposition) he changes his mind.

Believe me, he has laid aside his spear, nor will he hereafter descend into the arena unless when he has a good prospect of success. Let him spread the report if he wishes, that you have answered his oration in a spiritless manner, certainly so long as he keeps silence he confesses that he is overwhelmed by the force of your arguments. Yet there are not wanting those who strongly urge him to continue the strife, and I therefore cannot venture to say positively whether he may not change his mind and venture a reply to you. Farewell, my Dolet, and receive this trifling of mine in good part. . . Eloquence cannot be expected from one who, on account of the burden which his lectures on the civil law entail upon him, is wholly occupied with the works of Accursius, Bartholus, Baldus, and other uncouth interpreters of the law. Finally, there is one thing that I especially require from you, namely, that you should for the present conceal and suppress what I have written concerning your contention with the orator of Aquitaine. For it is not right that what I have confided to your breast should be open to those who turn anything into matter for calumny. Pinache has asked me to show him your letter, but I have replied that I shall refer the matter to you, and shall not read the letter to any one without your permission. Farewell, and continue to love me.'

Étienne Dolet to Arnoul Le Ferron

'You must not be surprised that as yet I have published nothing. Know that this proverb (worthy of a prudent man) has governed my determination, *Sat cito si sat bene.* I shall soon try the public taste with something that has been suppressed until the ninth year, which has grown ripe with age, and is neither crude nor hastily concocted. It will soon go forth carefully finished and polished, but is now

undergoing that process in obscurity. Since this is the case, endure for the present your longing for my lucubrations, and for your friend's credit suffer them still to be only expected. Those writings are sometimes approved by the vulgar which in the judgment of the learned are rough and unpolished. But that which I have on my hands, begun but at present incomplete, I hope by care and diligence to bring to such perfection that it may not displease the ignorant, and at the same time may be approved by the learned. . . .

'You caution me lest our pleasant and friendly correspondence should come into the hands of strangers. Do not be afraid on this score. I will if you wish it destroy your letters, or I will so carefully preserve and conceal them that they can never be made known. Farewell.

'Toulouse, 29th Jan.'

Arnoul Le Ferron to Étienne Dolet

'. . . There have been two causes why I have not sooner replied to your letter. One is that I have been suffering from a very severe and dangerous illness . . . but now that I am recovered I again with great pleasure to myself write to you. . . .

'As to what you say that I am not to wonder that you have not yet published anything since you keep back your lucubrations till the ninth year (as the poet says), I entirely approve your plan, and I shall now endure less heavily the longing which I have for your Commentaries, for I see that by delaying their appearance you will gain a greater reputation when you do publish them. Do not change your mind on this point, since I see how ridiculous many make themselves, who in language picked up here and there, and with patchwork sentences ill-sewn together, put their works before the public forgetful of the proverb, *Canis festinans*

cæcos parit catulos. Yet I do not the less condemn those who, on the strength of a couple of tracts produced after an immense time and labour, insolently arrogate to themselves the title of most learned. Proceed therefore to polish as much as possible what you have on hand, and apply yourself with all your might to obtain that reputation which you are sure to acquire from the publication of your Commentaries.

'Now as to Aquitaine . . . . I see that you have aroused the anger of many whom you have admirably and ingeniously described in your last letter, men who in your presence admire your poems, praise your letters, and approve your speeches, but who, when they have left you, paint you in altogether different colours. I feel disposed to name one or two of them (but there is no need to do so, you see clearly to whom I am referring), who show such affection for your adversary, so highly exalt and extol him, that they rouse my indignation ; and even in my presence they sometimes speak of you in so disparaging a manner that I drive them from me with reproaches. . . . But I think you should despise these worthless fellows, and consider their vile language of no more account than Democritus is said to have done in a similar case. He said he considered the slanders of his detractors to be of the same character as the exhalations from the stomach, which have an equally unseemly sound whether they proceed from the upper or lower part of the body. . . . But that I may not excite these men against me, I conjure you to take care, as you have promised, that this our pleasant and friendly correspondence does not fall into other and unfriendly hands. Whether you should destroy my letters is a matter for your own decision. Yet I would rather that you preserved them, so that they might sometimes remind you of your friend. This you may both expect and promise to yourself, that my affection for you

will only be extinguished by death ; and I may very fairly expect that you will make the like response to my good-will. On account, therefore, of our singular mutual sympathy I shall not hesitate to ask from you a clear proof of friendship. I hear, my Dolet, from men of great learning that your epigrams are much admired on account of their extreme ease of expression (a quality rarely to be found), and their harmonious ring. I could wish you not to forget me in your epigrams, but to make mention of me, so that posterity may understand that Arnoul Le Ferron was one whom the great Dolet did not think unworthy of his friendship. You might do this in some trifling epigram. I lay aside all shame in venturing to ask this of you, yet I beg you to add this to the favours you have already conferred on me. Farewell.'

Étienne Dolet to Arnoul Le Ferron

'I have been much distressed by the bad state of your health, and rejoice to hear that it is restored. . . . I am glad that you entirely agree with my opinion that my writings ought to be of such a kind as to afford me an earnest of that fame which you predict for me. At all events my offspring will be produced in due time, and if it does not bring to its parent the credit of fertility, it will at least relieve him from the reproach of barrenness. . . .

'I shall not fail to comply with your wishes, and that which you so eagerly desire you will obtain from me without difficulty. I shall do my utmost that posterity may understand that Le Ferron was very closely connected with Dolet, and was bound to him in the most intimate friendship. . . .

'I shall therefore hasten to send some verses to you,

and so comply with your request.[1] Take good care of yourself, and especially attend to your health. Farewell. Toulouse, Feb. 18.'[2]

Dolet now seems to have come to the conclusion that Toulouse was no place for him. He does not appear to have made much if any progress in his legal studies, and he determined, if his patron Bishop de Langeac approved and would provide the means, to leave for Italy in the autumn and proceed to Pavia to study under Alciat, or to return to Padua, the best place, as Boyssone thought, where literary and legal studies could be pursued together. His friend Clausanus, like himself a protégé of the Bishop of Limoges, had agreed to accompany him, and on the 1st of March he wrote the following letter to Langeac :—

'The money which you sent has been paid to me by your brother. As it was of the greatest use to me, so it made your great munificence towards me more clear and evident. Though your good-will towards me does not permit me to require this of you more earnestly, still I beg of you to continue to support and foster my studies, which up to this time you have most kindly and liberally assisted. More on this subject I shall not write, lest I seem to be urging a willing horse, and to be distrustful of your great kindness. This only I will add, that it is my intention to set out for Padua at the beginning of autumn in order there to lay the foundation of my legal studies, and to complete the literary course which I have undertaken. In this as in all things I have need of your assistance, but I shall not ask for it more earnestly until I have learned your opinion of my plan. Since, then, you are the director of my counsels and the promoter of my studies, I depend altogether upon

[1] Dolet seems not to have fulfilled his promise until 1536, when he wrote a short ode, 'De Ferroni commentariis in constitutiones (sic) Burdigalenses.'

[2] For these letters see *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, pp. 75-85 and 152-162.

you, and I desire to hear as speedily as possible what you wish to be done, in order that I may complete my arrangements.

'The Archbishop[1] has lately arrived at Toulouse, suffering from a disease of such severity as to preclude the hope of a much longer life, upon whom fortune, having been more than sufficiently kind in loading him with the splendours of rank and with enormous wealth, has now cast a deadly disease. So the cruel goddess plays with us, and suffers no one to be happy for long or to be in all respects prosperous. But no more on this subject, when I consider to whom I write—a man of the greatest weight, and one who stands most firm in the midst of that ever to be derided helplessness of human affairs. Oh, that upon his decease you might be adorned with his insignia, as you ought by right to be, as well on account of the greatness of your virtues as of the pains you have devoted to the affairs of the King.[2] But God will dispose the matter. In the meantime I wish you every good wish, and shall pray for your safety and prosperity. Farewell. Toulouse, March 1.[3]'

Dolet's wish to revisit Italy was not to be accomplished. Little more than three weeks after the date of this letter he was arrested and thrown into prison by the orders of the Juge-mage Dampmartin, charged with exciting a riot and with contempt of the Parliament.

[1] This prelate was Cardinal Gabriel de Gramont, so well known in our history as the Bishop of Tarbes, ambassador from Francis I. to Henry VIII. He had been appointed to the archbishopric of Toulouse only five months before the date of this letter, on the death of Jean d'Orléans, Cardinal de Longueville, in Oct. 1533. He occupied the see of Toulouse for less than six months, and died very shortly after the date of this letter of Dolet, namely, on the 26th of March 1534.

[2] Dolet's wish was not accomplished. On the death of Gabriel de Gramont, Odet de Coligny, then only eighteen years of age, but already a cardinal, was appointed to the archbishopric of Toulouse.

[3] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 137.

Nullum me scelus in vincula conjici
Poscebat, neque per compita turpiter
Duci.

Thus he begins the bitter ode which he afterwards printed against Dampmartin.[1] It was to him that Dolet owed the commencement of that long series of imprisonments which caused one of his bitterest enemies, Franciscus Floridus Sabinus, to call the prison his native country (*patria Doleti*), for during the remainder of his short life (thirteen years only) he suffered no less than five imprisonments, occupying in the whole about five years, in addition to this at Toulouse. This first imprisonment, however, was not of a very serious character, or of very long duration. The heads of the Parliament shared neither the ignorance nor the prejudices of their subordinates. With Jacques de Minut as First President and Jean Bertrandi as Second President it is difficult to understand how Jean de Caturce could have been committed to the flames. But their position, though it did not enable them to save the evangelical martyr from the consequences of heresy, yet rendered it easy for them to liberate the young student, whose fault at the most was the use of intemperate language. At this time Dolet was as it seems entirely unknown to either of the Presidents. It was not until some years later that he was introduced by the poet Hugues Salel to Bertrandi, and the letter which he wrote to the First President seems to address him as a stranger. It is probable that Minut's first knowledge of him or his imprisonment was the letter addressed to the First President on Dolet's behalf by Jean de Pins. The good Bishop was at this time labouring under a severe illness, and his letter is written from his sick-bed. 'If I did not know,' he writes to Minut, 'how favourable you were to liberal studies and to those men who excel in them, I should not write or

[1] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 200.

recommend to you Étienne Dolet, a young man of rare excellence and talent, nor should I ask you to afford him in his danger your great and just patronage, which I am sure you would do if you knew his great intelligence and learning. I know that the singular ingenuity of his genius will delight you not less than myself. He possesses so full and ready a knowledge of the Latin tongue that he seems especially suited to whatever subject he addresses himself. If you take prose composition you would think he had done nothing else the whole of his life. Do you seek for wit and acuteness in speaking or the subtlety and point of an epistle? You will find that in each of these he approaches to the ancients. But what is still more to be wondered at, he so excels in poetry that you would desire nothing better than his odes, and these he composes in various metres, which is a difficult task. If he attempts elegiacs, you would think they were the work of Ovid or Tibullus. If he writes lyrics, iambics, or hendecasyllables, you would think Horace or Catullus had composed them. And yet with all these accomplishments I ask for nothing more from you than that you would not suffer a guileless and careless young man either to be exposed to the hatred of others or to be crushed and oppressed by the testimony of his enemies, but would protect his innocence. There lately arose between him and some Gascon rhetorician certain literary disputes which at first delighted me, since I thought by that means their talents would be exercised and their eloquence increased. . . . But things have turned out very differently from what I expected, for, inflamed by the factious desires of their partisans, they have passed from letters to arms; but in this, so far as I hear, no injury has yet been received by any one. Dolet has been cast into prison, where he is oppressed with the charges made against the whole of his party, and he is even accused of a most serious offence, namely, contempt of the Parliament. But I am unwilling to

say more lest I should be troublesome. Our common friend who takes my letter to you will explain the whole of the matter more fully. Farewell. Written from my sick-bed.[1]'

This letter was accompanied by one from the prisoner himself to the First President, protesting his innocence and praying for his speedy release. Dolet's other friends, and particularly Jean de Boyssone, were not wanting in their sympathy and assistance. Immediately on hearing of his imprisonment, Boyssone wrote a letter of sympathy and counsel, assuring the unfortunate prisoner that he should be most careful to do whatever he thought would tend to his deliverance, and desiring to be informed what Dolet might wish him to do or attend to. To this letter Dolet replied from his prison as follows :—

'It is the special fate of men of letters to experience more ill-will than falls to the lot of others, and to be unjustly oppressed by vexation. I am paying the penalty of my pen, and, absurdly enough, my injuries are caused by that very thing from which I had hoped to acquire praise. But personally I do not feel any alarm. This bitterness of fortune is common to me with many others, and I am neither greatly astonished nor very much troubled that what I know to be the common fate of men of letters has happened to me. The recollection of this alleviates the grief which my condition occasions me. Moreover, the many marks of friendship which I have received have both refreshed and revived me. For, as before this time many without my knowing it had much regard and good-will towards me, so in this, my saddest time, they have all given no doubtful proof how strongly they wish that Dolet should be preserved safe and sound from all injury. But how much consolation I have had from the consciousness of my own rectitude, and how much alleviation in my misfortunes the

[1] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 149.

gentle Muses have afforded me, you will easily be able to understand, though I am silent about it. This one thing I can assert, that if there had been any love of learning, any desire to act with justice in those in whom both these qualities ought to be found in a very high degree, I should not have been molested.

'I both value and commend your exceeding good-will towards me, and I earnestly beg of you never to change it; I who was free, am now so bound to you that I am indeed your most loving and devoted friend. My mind is brave and constant and prepared to suffer all misfortunes which may happen to me. Farewell. Toulouse, written in prison.'[1]

The result of the interference of his friends was that Dolet was set at liberty by order of the First President de Minut, after an imprisonment of only three days. He remained two months longer at Toulouse, but his enemies did not discontinue their machinations. Foiled in their first attempt, Drusac, Pinache, and Dampmartin left no stone unturned to obtain his condemnation by the Parliament for using seditious and contemptuous language of that august assembly.

[1] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 90.

CHAPTER VIII

Guillaume Budé and Jacques Bording

'Vir ad seculi sui gloriam natus, laudibus literariis abundans magnaque cum propter singularem rerum omnium scientiam hominum admiratione affectus, tum ob id potissimum, quod Græcas literas sua ætate intermortuas exsuscitarit.'—Huet.

IN the meantime neither the persecutions of his enemies nor the constant vexation and anxiety which they occasioned him had either broken the spirit or damped the energies of Étienne Dolet. His conceit, his entire belief in himself, in the goodness of his cause, in his literary abilities, and his determination to achieve literary reputation, prevented him from feeling dismayed by his present misfortunes. At no period of his life is his correspondence more lively, more vigorous, and more hopeful, than during the period between the delivery of his second oration and his banishment from Toulouse.

At this time, Guillaume Budé, better known by the Latinised form of his name Budæus, held the first place among French men of letters. His friends indeed, and perhaps the French generally, considered his reputation equal to that of Erasmus, and were indignant with that great scholar for placing him in his *Ciceronianus* on a level with Josse Bade ;[1] but though Budé certainly in Greek scholarship, and possibly in technical knowledge of the Latin language and antiquities, was equal and perhaps superior to Erasmus, he was little more than a scholar, altogether wanting in the genius and grasp of mind of the author of the *Colloquies* and the *Praise of Folly*, who was not only a scholar, but a man of genius, a social, political, and religious reformer, occupied much more with men and things than with words and phrases.

Budé was now (1533) sixty-six years of age. His Greek epistles could have been written by no other Frenchman of his time ; his annotations on the Pandects had taken rank in France as the standard authority on Roman law ; his treatise *De Asse et partibus ejus*, first published in 1514, had already reached more than ten editions, had made its author's name celebrated throughout Europe, and rivalled in popularity as well as in solid learning, if indeed in the latter it did not exceed, the *Adages* of Erasmus, though wanting altogether in the play of fancy, the happy illustrations, and the political and moral reflections which have enabled the latter work to preserve some remnants of popularity even in the nineteenth century.

To enjoy the friendship and good opinion of Budé was

[1] Erasmus afterwards explained, what indeed is evident to any one reading the tract, that it is merely in the matter of Latin style that he places Budæus and Badius together ; but it is not improbable that Erasmus took a malicious pleasure in placing, for whatever purpose, his rival on the same level with the meritorious and scholarly printer.

an object of ambition to every young man of letters in France, and Dolet accordingly, after the manner of those days, although personally unknown to him, addressed him in an elaborate Latin epistle, seeking for his favourable notice; and at the same time solicited the good offices of Jacques Bording, who was then in Paris and on terms of friendly intimacy with the great scholar. It will be remembered that it was to Bording that Dolet was indebted for his introduction to Jean de Pins; but soon afterwards a coolness arose between them, which was followed by an entire cessation of intercourse. When Bording left Toulouse for Paris, he and Dolet agreed to engage in a close and constant correspondence in Latin on literary topics. Some false friend, however, told Dolet that Bording had censured his conduct and sympathised with his enemies. The statement so made, which seems to have been entirely false, rankled in the mind of the self-conscious and sensitive Dolet, and after a short correspondence, written in a most unfriendly spirit on the part of the latter, their intercourse ceased for a time. We cannot but feel surprise that Dolet should have allowed this correspondence to be printed, since it is most discreditable to him, while the letters of Bording are written with the utmost good feeling and good sense, and are in marked contrast to the insulting and angry tone of Dolet. The fact that he published the correspondence is an illustration of the much greater attention which the Ciceronians of that day paid to form than to matter. Provided only a composition had the recognised Ciceronian ring it was considered to give its author a claim to admiration, however outrageous in sentiments or deficient in sense.

The good Bishop of Rieux had been much distressed by the quarrel of his young friends, and urged Dolet to become reconciled to Bording. To what extent the following letter was due to the entreaties of Jean de Pins, or to the fact of

Bording's intimacy with Budé, may perhaps be considered uncertain, but on the 26th of November 1533, Dolet wrote to Bording as follows, enclosing the letter which he had written to Budé :—

'I understand that you kindly and courteously are very desirous that my mind, which had become somewhat embittered against you, should again be reconciled. Our friend Jean de Pins lately told me that he had received a letter from you written in this spirit, and he strongly urged me that whatever dissension there had been between you and me, if I could not of my own accord lay aside, yet that I should do so for his sake as well as for the sake of literature. . . . So let it be. Certain unjust remarks which you made about me at first wounded and grieved me much. . . . But now, since I am disposed either to suspect that these matters were falsely told me, or to be careless about them, my mind, which at first overflowed with anger, has become quiet, and all that enmity which your attack upon me produced has disappeared. Therefore, in order that it may be made manifest to all that I am reconciled to you, and that your friendship is restored to me, I send this letter. . . . But now let us talk familiarly as is the manner of friends. I will tell you what is going on here.

'At Toulouse there is the same hatred of letters and the same love of stupidity that there always has been. Not to be tedious, the fools are as numerous and of the same species as ever. But I will make an end of speaking ill, or rather of speaking the truth, lest the truth may be made a charge against him who is uttering it. I devote myself entirely to literature and enjoy excellent health. How satisfactorily and with what increase to my reputation I performed my duties as orator (an office to which you know I was appointed by the French) I would rather you should learn from others than from myself. This much I may say

to you, that no one ever before at Toulouse spoke his mind more openly than I did. I refuted the decisions of the Parliament against the French fraternity in an oration not less brilliant than severe. This I shall shortly transcribe, and send to you the first opportunity. You may without doubt expect this gift from your friend. This also I should tell you, that my term of office having expired, Thomasinus succeeded me, whose power of writing and speaking is, I think, known to you. To what extent he is likely to excel you will readily guess. Our friend Jean de Pins suffers severely from gout, nor does anything seem to assuage this complaint, so that for the last two days he has been hardly able to breathe or rest. More in my next letter. Now it is your turn to inform me, in as friendly a manner and as often as possible, of all your affairs, and carefully to write to me, to whom you are specially attached, to whose friendship you devote yourself, into whose intimacy you have thrown yourself, how studies are carried on in Paris, to what extent Greek literature is cultivated, whom you suspect, whom you despise, whom you admire, and whom you neglect, who are now in repute for eloquence, and whom you consider to have attained the top of the tree. In fine, if you write all this to me in a friendly letter, it will be very agreeable to me, and I shall be most grateful; I shall consider myself bound to you for ever for so great a favour.

'It is reported here that you are very familiar with Budé. I heartily congratulate you on having acquired the friendship of so great a man, and beg most earnestly that you would procure his good-will and favour for me. Farewell. Love me, and bear in mind that you are especially loved by me.'[1]

Bording replied to this letter in the tone and spirit which his previous epistles would lead us to expect.

[1] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 93.

Jacques Bording to Étienne Dolet

'I have received your letter and the one you enclosed for Budé. As to your letter to me, in which you intimate that you feel great affection for me, you cannot doubt that it was most agreeable to me to receive. I read what you say about our friendship being restored very gladly, but I could wish, my Dolet, that it had remained undisturbed, and that as you had begun, you would have continued to love me, and would not have believed the words of certain evil-minded persons rather than the testimony of men of virtue who knew my special affection for you. Had you believed them there would have been no need of Jean de Pins to reconcile us, and I should rather submit to his authority in any other matter than in this. But however it happened, we may remember *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est.* I rejoice that I have been challenged by your letter into letting you know by my reply what my feelings towards you are. Indeed, my Dolet, from the hour when I first knew you I have both loved you and believed my love returned, and have had that high opinion of you which I shall never repent having had.

'It now remains for me to congratulate you on your satisfactory discharge of your duty as orator. I do not doubt that you have obtained all the rewards in the way of praise and glory which are possible in a matter of that kind. I wish I could have been present both to see and hear, yet I shall regret my absence the less if you perform your promise and permit me to read the oration; remember therefore that I shall anxiously expect the gift which you have promised me, and take care neither to break your word nor to disappoint my expectation.

'I gave your letter to Budé. He read it with much pleasure, and immediately began to ask where you were,

what you were doing, and who were your associates. When I asked whether he wished me to give you any message from him, he replied that he would himself answer your letter; and he repeated this at another interview I had with him. He said however that he was then more occupied than usual, and but little disposed for letter-writing, and he added that there was no necessity for hurry in the matter. I will again remind him and urge him to write to you, so that you may not think you have written in vain.

'I will now as you ask me write to you familiarly about my own affairs, about the professors of eloquence and the state of letters. Literature is still not without its revilers. Some there are who accuse it of being the source of all error, so much so as to prevent any good man being also a philosopher, and many of those who are in authority approve of this folly. Béda has lately been restored to his office, but even before this we had felt the commencement of his disturbance. Jean Cop, before his course of lectures was finished, was obliged to fly from the city, otherwise he would have had to make his defence in prison. Then fierce and bitter attempts were made upon men distinguished for their virtue and learning. As yet they are only imprisoned. No sentence has been publicly pronounced against them, but we expect this to follow now that Béda is in power.

'As to the professors of literature I have had the opportunity of hearing but few of them, and it is not easy for me to form an opinion of them individually. A great deal is expected from a certain Italian whom I think you knew in Italy. He lately arrived here for the purpose of instructing the king. He promises in three months thoroughly to teach an ignorant person Greek and Latin, and the perfect faculty of both speaking and writing on any subject. He is constructing here an amphitheatre for the king, for

the purpose of marking out divisions for the memory. He is also engaged in writing a dialogue against his detractors and those who deny that he is able to do all this; in which, though with a certain covert mystery, he endeavours to prove his system. At Venice, as I have heard from certain Italians, commentaries on the language of Cicero on a plan not unlike his amphitheatre are going through the press, the work of M. Nizolius, who has squeezed into little nests (as it were) the whole system of Latin composition. If you know either the one or the other, write pray in your next letter what you think we may expect from them.

'At another time I will write to you more at length. Now I beg of you that you would continue to love me, and would faithfully remember me to Jean de Pins, through whom you have been restored to me, and that you take care he preserves his affection for me. This will be easy for you to do who enjoy such great favour with him. Farewell. Paris, 26th January.'[1]

The letter which Dolet had written to Budé is one of those polished complimentary letters of which we have so many examples in the Latin correspondence of the men of the Renaissance—full of pompous complimentary phrases, but of absolutely no substance. It appears, however, to have gratified the great man, and drew from him, three weeks after its receipt,[2] the following reply, which was most acceptable to the young scholar of Toulouse, and which was forwarded to him by the friendly Bording a few days after the date of the last letter.

[1] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 164.

[2] It will be remembered that in somewhat similar circumstances Budé was six months before replying to a letter of Rabelais. See the letter of Budé, *Budæi Opera* (Basle, 1557), vol. i. p. 325.

Guillaume Budé to Étienne Dolet

'I have now for three weeks been disappointing your expectation, as I gather it from your letter which does not conceal the strong wish you had in writing it. And I should show myself deserving of reprehension if I any longer postponed replying to you; indeed, in that case I might be convicted of deceit by your friend Bording, who delivered your letter to me and who begged me to answer it. But what makes my procrastination still more blameable is that I had put your letter in a conspicuous place in my study, that it might itself remind me of the duty of writing to you. I have thus kept your letter before me so as to have it as a daily appellant demanding of me the slight labour which you impose upon me. . . .

'You must know that no kind of relaxation is more agreeable to me when I am spending my time at home devoted to reading or literary composition than letter-writing. Those therefore who know my habits, and who by writing to me call for letters in return, when they find that I fail altogether in this duty do not on that account remonstrate with me, especially at this time, at my age, and with the heavy official duties I have to perform.[1] Even omitting my official duties, how much leisure do you think remains to me which I could devote to this kind of correspondence? Besides, since letters are in the nature of an amusement, they ought to be written with a youthful sprightliness and liveliness of style. But might I not also add this, that I am not now the same man that I formerly was? For in order not completely to divorce myself from philology, which has for so long been my companion, my associate, my mistress, bound to me by every tie of intimate affection, I have been compelled to loosen the

[1] Budé was a *maître des requêtes*.

chains of so devouring a love, and to relax the bonds of a connection the closeness of which I found to be destructive to my health.

'What you so kindly and ingeniously say in your elegant and terse letter of your devotion and regard for me is both pleasant and acceptable, indeed most acceptable, as it ought to be; and I wish you to believe that I have that disposition towards you that makes me desire to interchange good offices with you on equal terms, and to show to you the same measure of kindness and good-will which you do to me, and this without any pretence of idle talk. But although from your letter I have been in some measure able to judge of your learning, of your mode of life and your position I really know nothing. Farewell. That which in your letter you have urged upon me so strongly, namely that I should include you in the number of my friends, you may be satisfied on the faith of this letter you have obtained. Paris, 24th January.'[1]

Letters of which the following are extracts complete the correspondence :—

Étienne Dolet to Jacques Bording

'I have received your two letters and that from Budé. What great delight the latter afforded me you cannot doubt, since I had written to you before how much I wished to receive a letter from him. . . .

'I am amazed and indignant to learn that the monstrous and vicious beast Béda, that execrable pest, has been recalled from exile. There has been a rumour here that he has again attempted some wickedness, and has on that account been cast into prison. I hope this may be true, and that he may receive a punishment worthy of his crimes

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 167.

and of his wicked disposition. I rejoice as heartily to hear that Jean Cop is restored, as I imprecate upon the head of Béda as upon a malignant tumour and excrescence, all evils and injuries. As to those who are devoted to humane letters in these our unhappy and turbulent times, I wish that they would care more for their own safety and immunity than for fame and for a distinction which is destructive to them, and would rather speak cautiously and circumspectly than pour forth all their opinions without distinction so openly as they do. If those who have been especially distinguished by learning had acted with such caution and prudence, they would not have suffered from nor exposed themselves to the ferocity of those fools and idiots, nor (as has usually happened) would they have been cast into prison.

'As to the fellow who promises to give in three months to an uncultivated man ignorant of the rudiments of grammar, as by a divining wand, a knowledge either of the Greek or of the Latin tongue, and a perfect capacity of speaking and writing concerning any subject, I recognise that portentous specimen of the Italian character, and the line of Horace comes into my mind—

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

'The imposture of the fellow however would be endurable were it not that by its means he is expecting to deceive the king and is meaning to practise among us [in France] all those devices for money-getting which he understands. He really pretends to endow a man without any labour of his own, with an abundance of that oratorical power in which, as the severe judges of this have told us, no age since the memory of man has yet produced any one sufficiently instructed. He may build his amphitheatre for marking off his divisions of memory, he may be assisted by the Commentaries on the language of Cicero of M. Nizolius of

Venice, and if you ask me what I think of it I bid you again repeat the line of Horace. A commonplace rhetorician will not persuade me that within three months that subject can be completely acquired by an ignorant man, a partial excellence in which scarcely any one in the whole course of his life after assiduous labour and diligence can attain to. As far as we are concerned however he may enjoy his own folly, and may boldly promise that of which he neither knows the difficulty nor can have properly mastered or studied the theory. Yet there is one thing which does vex me much ; it is that our countrymen are so eager after, and so partial to what is barbarous and foreign that they neglect those things which they have at home most worthy of praise, and with a ridiculous folly admire and purchase at a great price whatever is foreign. But what shall I say of this man? No one will persuade me that he can add anything to the most excellent and never sufficiently to be praised learning of Budé, to the rare and amazing eloquence and flowing language of Bérauld, to the purity and elegance of style of Danès and Bunel, to the profound and remarkable erudition of Toussain and Guillaume du Maine, to the poetical grace of Salmon Macrin, or to the pleasant liveliness of Nicolas Bourbon. Yet we see neither Budé nor any of the other Frenchmen who are most accomplished in liberal studies, and who are admitted into the number of classics, enriched by any fortune, while we all keep silence before the windbags and empty triflings of Italians ; and at their mere words, delivered with swelling breasts and puffed-out cheeks, we eagerly hold our breath, we open our purses, and allow that which is truly excellent to be circumvented and supplanted by that astute and deceitful race.

'So much as to these matters. I now relate what has happened since my last letter to you. The association of the Gascons as well as of the French has been dissolved

by decree of the Parliament. This decree was vehemently complained of by all of us, as both unjust and unusual. But we were not able to attain our object, and the power and authority of the barbarians outweighed our desire of cultivating friendship. An altercation arose between Pinache and myself. I publicly defended myself against his attacks. He was utterly crushed by my oration, and when he found himself intellectually my inferior, he wickedly used fraud, and with a false accusation that in my oration I had not only attacked the Parliament but had violated the honour of the city of Toulouse, he caused me to be thrown into prison, not only participating in doing the injury to me, but even taking the lead in it. For some days I suffered from the general unpopularity of my friends, which however was easily put down by the authority of our friend Jean de Pins and the assistance of the President de Minut. I derived both great advantage and glory from the machinations and perfidy of my enemies, since I was convicted of no crime, but was formally acquitted by the Parliament. The oration which I formerly promised you, as well as the one I lately delivered against Pinache, you must not expect; you will read neither of them until they are printed, together with my collection of poems and epistles, but you must not on this account accuse me of not keeping faith with you. I should have kept my promise had I not been deterred by the too great loss of time which I have found would be occasioned by copying these things; but as you have waited for them upwards of three months you will easily endure the addition of one or two months more.

'I have replied to the letter of Budé, and I beg that you would give my letter to him, and would induce him (at his convenience) to write to me again. Our mutual affection forbids me from suggesting to you, much less asking you, to write to me fully and exactly of your own affairs and

of all matters which go on at Paris. Jean de Pins is well and sends you a hearty remembrance. Farewell. From the city of Toulouse, 22nd April.'[1]

Étienne Dolet to Guillaume Budé

'. . . Your letter was most agreeable to me, not only because I found you were not displeased at my writing to you, but because you showed that you responded to my affection. I was indeed triumphant in my delight that I had at length obtained what I so long wished for. I now rejoice to know that you are so well disposed towards me, and I could wish that fortune could so bring it about that you should make as much account of me as I do of you, and should show as much good-will to me as I show respect to you. Nor do I despair of arriving at this, knowing as I do my own singular esteem for you, and relying upon the great affection which you are in the habit of showing to those who are students of eloquence. . . .

'I now come to the latter part of your letter, and since you say that you have been able in some measure to judge of my learning, but that you know nothing of my mode of life or position, I will now give you at length both an account of my life and my present position.

'I was born at Orléans, a noble city of our Gaul and of much renown, in how honourable and indeed distinguished a position among my fellow-citizens I leave those to speak of who place virtue below birth. Liberally brought up at Orléans, at twelve years of age I went to Paris, where I received the rudiments of my education, and diligently devoted myself to all those subjects by which young men are accustomed to be trained to mental culture. For five years I there cultivated my mind, giving myself up prin-

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 98.

cipally to the study of Cicero. Soon, influenced by a desire of cultivating the highest eloquence, I betook myself to Italy ; there I passed three years at Padua in intimate friendship and association with Simon Villanovanus, by whose death being deprived of so dear a friend, and one who was so great a help to my studies, I thought of returning forthwith to France. But I was detained for some time longer in Italy, as well at the request as by the authority of Jean de Langeac, who at that time filled the office of ambassador to Venice, and who employed me to write letters both to the Supreme Pontiff and to other correspondents. In this employment another year was added to the three which I had already spent in Italy ; nor, though I wished it, was I able to return, but was compelled to wait until the business of the embassy was finished, and then in the ambassador's company I returned to France less ignorant and more devoted to the study of eloquence than I had left it. Now I think you know the greater part of my history, the rest I will relate in a few words. Now that I am returned to France I resolutely pursue the same course which I began in my earliest youth. I am absorbed in literature ; and as from the first, out of all the number of Latin writers I set Cicero before me as my model, so now I am writing commentaries on the Ciceronian diction, adding also illustrations from the pure language of Sallust, Cæsar, Terence, and Livy. This useful work will appear in due time, with my other lucubrations. I thus pass over the second act of my drama and proceed to the last By the advice of my many patrons and friends who are always helping me with their most loving and friendly counsels, and who wish me to be covered with honours and to aspire to the highest reputation, I have decided to devote myself to the civil law, which I have thought not to be altogether opposed to the course of my studies. For certainly my

oratorical power may be very much embellished by legal studies, and may even be considerably assisted by them. In order to devote myself to these subjects as satisfactorily as possible, and to follow the advice of those who say that no art can be properly studied without a teacher and without some practical instruction, and who assert that the civil law especially needs both a teacher and an explanation, I have come to Toulouse, a city of greater celebrity and renown than of real knowledge of the civil law, and the inhabitants of which are more barbarous than the Getæ of the Scythians. But be this as it may, no rudeness of this barbarous city withdraws me from my design. I have now devoted to the civil law not much less than two years continuously, and I have so spent my time that I have given some hours each morning or evening to the reading of Cicero. The remainder of the day I give to my principal subject, either in private study or public exercises. Thus I devote myself to the science of law as my friends wish me to do and as I am not ashamed of doing, for certainly a knowledge of law will be a great assistance and recommendation to me in seeking for public employment, and at the same time it will increase my power of expressing myself by giving me an insight into the true and just. It is not however certain that I shall finish my legal studies at Toulouse, as I am thinking of setting out for Padua or Pavia in order to see Alciat[1] and the other Italian professors of law utter their *sesquipedalia*

[1] Alciat at this time enjoyed the highest reputation of any living man as a commentator and lecturer on the civil law. He was now Professor of Jurisprudence at Pavia. He had filled the chair of Civil Law at Bourges from 1528 to the end of 1532, when he returned to Italy, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, having conferred upon him the appointment of Professor in Pavia, with a salary of 1500 crowns. He continued at Pavia until 1537. Panciroli, who knew him well, thus describes him, 'Vir fuit corpulentus, proceræ staturæ, auri avidus habitus est et cibi avidior' (*De claris legum interpret.* lib. ii.).

verba with solemn pomp, or furiously attack Accursius and Bartholus, lest they should seem to know too little. I shall then insinuate myself into some one's intimacy with whom to laugh in a learned and familiar manner at these matters.

'I hope before long to make a journey to Paris and to meet you there face to face. If before this happens you write a letter to meet me on the way informing me of your health and telling me what is passing at Paris, I shall believe that you keep me in your memory, and you will gain this advantage, that when I come to see you you will not have to narrate to me what you have already written. Farewell. Toulouse, 22nd April.'[1]

The Italian referred to in the letters of Bording and Dolet was the clever, eccentric, and learned charlatan Giulio Camillo of Forli, surnamed from his father's birthplace Delminio. Philosopher, orator, poet, philologist, mythologist, and astrologer, of great skill in the cabalistic sciences, of much real and of more pretended learning, he had conceived the extraordinary and impracticable idea of a number of categories which should embrace all the divisions and subdivisions of human knowledge and of human thought. These he proposed arranging in a number of small drawers or niches in a large machine or box in the form of an amphitheatre, in which the signs of the planets marked off the primary divisions of the mind. Each drawer was labelled with some quality of the mind, and by changing the labels it could be adapted to any science. By the aid of this theatre an ignorant man was to become master of any language or branch of science in an incredibly short time. It was however specially adapted for the study of Latin and Greek, and for enabling a student to attain proficiency in composition and oratory. To the perfecting of this theatre he devoted forty years. He was at this time in Paris in

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 103.

high favour with Francis I., who gave him five hundred ducats to enable him to carry out his idea and build his theatre, a model or portion of which, containing all the principles and rules of oratory as laid down by Cicero, symmetrically arranged, had much interested the king. In Paris he became intimate with Sturm and Calvin. The former believed both in the depth of his learning and the earnestness of his piety. Calvin seems to have had much less respect for him.[1] Dolet had known him at Padua, and had as it appears taken a violent dislike to him, besides having that feeling of contempt which any man of real

[1] Schmidt, *Mém. sur Roussel*, 219, 220; D'Aubigné, *Hist. Ref. Temps de Calvin*, b. iv. c. 1. In 1537 we find him at Padua, where Paleario knew him, and thus refers to him in one of his letters to Lampridius (Book i. Ep. 17) :—'Giulio Camillo is building a theatre at great cost. There never was such a conspiracy among the ignorant, who think that without study or labour they will be able to write like Cicero. With a view to this he arranges a number of cards in little boxes. This is a fact, my Lampridius. ἀνὴρ ὁ λογοδαίδαλος τοῦ Ἀριστίππου λαμβάνει βλένους καὶ τοῦ Μίδου θηρεύει ὀνάγρους. You laugh! I am not joking; he has collected a great deal of money from those to whom he promises mastery in eloquence.' Camillo died in 1544 (and not in 1550 as stated in the *Biographie Générale*), without having completed his theatre or published any account of it. He left, however, in manuscript two not very intelligible descriptions or explanations of it, one of which has remained unpublished, and is probably in the Bib. Nat. (an early copy of it is in my possession). The other was edited by L. Domenichi and printed at Florence by Torrentino in 1550, under the title of *L' idea del Theatro dell' excellen. M. Giulio Camillo* (4°, 88 pp.). It was reprinted the same year at Venice and reappeared in the editions of the collected works of Camillo given by Giolito of Venice in 1552, 1554, 1567, 1568, 1579, 1580, and 1581. See for Camillo, in addition to the works before cited, his life by Federigo Altan di Salvarolo contained in vol. i. of *Nuova raccoltà d' opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (Venezia, 1755) edited by Calogiera; also Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 2226 (edit. of 1824); Freytag, *Adparatus Litt.* vol. iii. pp. 128-132; Young's *Life of A. Paleario*, i. p. 545; *Erasmi Epist.* ccclxx. p. 1754; *Gilb. Cognati Opuscula*, p. 84, where, in an epistle to Metellus, is an account of the theatre as described to the writer by Sebastian Rosarius.

learning, or who knew what learning really meant, could hardly fail to have for one who professed by mechanical contrivances, however ingenious, to enable one wholly ignorant of Latin and Greek to become complete masters of these languages in three months.

Two odes directed against Camillo appear amongst Dolet's poems, one of them written about this time and sent in manuscript by Dolet to Francis de Langeac, a brother of the Bishop of Limoges, with the following remarks: 'I send you an ode, the subject of which is as follows. A new master of eloquence has appeared from the shades; an ignorant, uneducated fellow has rushed down upon us from Italy, ignorant of the Latin language and of all polite letters, and since no other kind of imposture has succeeded with him he has adopted this method of making money, namely, by promising in less than a month to teach the use of the Latin tongue, the faculty of oratory, and the art of making verses—a thing within the memory of man unheard of and worthy only of perpetual laughter: if you wish to remain like yourself, you will treat his system as one for taking pains to be mad by rule. Yet (for the French are easily cheated with words) he has finely choused[1] the king out of his money, having promised him certain commentaries by means of which, even against our will or when we are asleep, he can imbue us with all learning. I am half ashamed of being so wanting to myself as to have ridiculed so small a matter at such great length. Yet I am anxious to hear what you say about these things. I know many in France by whose talents and attainments

[1] It is curious to note that here, and in the ode which follows, Dolet uses the same word in reference to Camillo as Alciat in a letter to Franciscus Calvus, printed in *Gudii Epistolæ curante Burmanno*, pt. i. p. 109. Dolet says, 'Regem tamen nummis pulchre emunxit'; Alciat's words are, '(Regem) emunxit sexcentos aureos.'

I hope the Italian will be made to understand that eloquence and literary renown (of which his countrymen claim a monopoly for themselves) are also common to the French, and that they will then cease to treat us as dumb children who, having neglected the study of literature, tend beyond others into weakness, and may be deluded into any scheme however mad.'[1]

'Ardua promittis, solo vel mense disertos
Cum te nos juras reddere posse viros ;
Promissum hoc nihil est, nihil est has fundere nugas,
Est quoque nil, musas vel superare novem.
Id tibi cum multis commune est, Gallia centum,
Qui facile id præstent Gallia mille dabit.
Ast aliud nosti solus, quo Pallada vincis
Quicquid et Atlantis scit vafer ille nepos.
Vis dicam ? nosti Reges emungere nummis :
Est id, quo doctum vincere quenque potes.
Hos nobis astus tua si documenta recludent,
Quis tibi pro tantis artibus astra neget ?
Major eris Phœbo, quod si Jovis aula placebit,
Tu Jove depulso Jupiter altus eris.'[2]

The time for Dolet's final departure from Toulouse had now arrived. At the end of May or in the first days of June 1534, and whilst suffering from a fever, the result as it would seem of mental anxiety, he had hastily to withdraw from Toulouse to avoid a second arrest. He retired to a friend's house in the country, proposing to remain there in concealment until the storm had passed over, as he at first thought it would do, when he might again return to his studies. Yet he was apparently in some doubts as to his future. His inclinations led him to desire, as we have seen, to pay a second visit to Italy ; and if he was to continue his legal studies, to do so either at Pavia or at Padua. But before leaving France, Dolet was

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 97. [2] Id. p. 186.

desirous of committing to the press his two orations, his poems, and some letters which had passed between himself and his friends. It is not probable that Toulouse would have afforded a printer for a book which contained such violent attacks upon the city, its magistrates, and its populace, and it was towards Lyons that he already directed his views. He proposed taking it on his way to Italy, and remaining there so long as might be needed to see his lucubrations through the press.

On the 8th of June he wrote to Boyssone a letter full of indignation against his enemies and against Toulouse, and giving his friend an account of his studies and occupations. 'I devote myself to literature with as much energy as my health allows. I am amplifying and polishing both my speeches, and intend to publish my lucubrations as speedily as possible. The passage in which I have sought to celebrate and exculpate you, you will receive with this letter.'[1]

The following is an extract from Boyssone's reply: 'Until I received your letter I did not know where in the world you were. Different reports had reached me about you, some saying that you had started for Lyons, others for Limoges. With such different reports reaching me how could I write to you? But from the time I learned from your letter where you were, I have thought of nothing more constantly than of writing to you.

'As to what is going on here, since you wish me to tell you about it, know that you have left behind you much affection among many, and that the number of those who esteem you and grieve that you have departed is not small: among them are the noblest and most honourable matrons of the city, with whom you have acquired great favour on account of your epigrams against Drusac. For my own

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 120.

part, my Dolet, if I took account only of my own wishes, nothing more grievous could have happened to me than your departure; but since your plans required it, I should show myself ignorant of the laws of friendship if I did not cheerfully give up my habit of living in the enjoyment of your society, and did not put in the first place the consideration of your interest. Go then where your interest calls you; fly this ungrateful land, *fuge littus avarum*. When you reach Lyons salute in my name Sebastian Gryphius, whom I extremely love and hold very dear. Take care of your health; for while I have been writing your friend Clausanus has told me that you are ill, which I very much grieve to hear, knowing as I do that if you were well in mind you would be well in body.

'A certain Omphalius[1] has lately come from Paris, with a great reputation for learning. I have not yet seen him; when I have done so I will write to you again. Farewell. Toulouse, June 13.'[2]

A week later Dolet thus writes to the same friend:—

'The severity of the illness which up to this time has racked me has alone prevented me from replying to your letter earlier, and though I have to some extent improved and have got rid of the disease, yet I am not in any way restored to health nor have I recovered my bodily strength. But I am taking care of myself, and I am in good hopes that God will afford me some remedy, so that shortly by the help of nature I may throw off the remainder of my disease.

'You would scarcely believe what great pleasure letters from my friends afford me in this my retreat, and especially the letters of those who, together with the expressions of their love, display no ordinary purity and elegance of style.

[1] See his Dialogus 'Fatum,' at the end of his *Nomologia*, Coloniæ, 1558. He mentions Minutius, Pinus, Boyssone and Vulteius.

[2] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 174.

In this you particularly excel, and afford me a certain hope that one day you also will be reckoned among those who are distinguished for eloquence, unless indeed the nonsense of Bartholus and Accursius prevent you from pursuing that kind of reputation. What I very much fear is, that inhabiting a city hostile to eloquence you will become less and less disposed to study it, and will be inclined to treat polite literature somewhat too scornfully and disdainfully.

'I am very pleased to learn that there is affection felt for me and a pleasant remembrance of me left among the good; this is a proof that I am hated by the wicked only. I hear that Drusac is continually and with increased bitterness urging the Parliament to issue an edict against me. He is a savage and brutal wild beast, whose unbridled fury not even the flight of his enemy has allayed.

'In conclusion, there is one thing of which I wish to assure you, namely, that I feel no less grief at being separated from you than you do at my departure; but since we cannot longer be together, and my plans call me elsewhere, let us fill up our separation by the frequency of our letters. Of Omphalius I only know the name. If you have ascertained what sort of a man he is or what is the extent of his learning let me know, and let me receive from you, what I greatly desire, a letter about all manner of things. Farewell. Written in the country, 22nd June.'[1]

Dolet's withdrawal from Toulouse had not the effect of putting a stop to the attempts of his enemies against him. That the First President used his influence in his favour is certain, and Dolet always referred to him afterwards with gratitude and esteem. But neither the moderation of the First and Second Presidents, nor the friendship of the Bishop of Rieux, was able to prevail against the bigotry and not improbably the personal dislike of the major part of the Councillors,

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 121.

instigated by the Lieutenant-General of the Seneschalty, and the Juge-mage, and supported by the capitouls. Dolet had just signed the last letter to Boyssone on June 22nd, when he received the news that the Parliament had passed a decree sentencing him to perpetual banishment from the city and from the whole of the district within its jurisdiction. He thereupon added the following postscript :—

'Since signing my letter to you I have received news, both by messengers and by letters, that Drusac has obtained an edict forbidding my return to Toulouse. I am in no degree disturbed by the persecution of so worthless a fellow, nor in this season of trouble and wretchedness do I any the less preserve my courage, but, as in tranquil and prosperous times when my affairs go on as I wish I endeavour to show myself firm and steadfast, so now I endeavour bravely to resist misfortunes. Hence my troubles are not increased, but alleviated by the firmness of my mind and the record of a good conscience. I devote myself wholly to literature, and with this occupy all my time ; this takes away my mind from my annoyances and troubles, and brings no slight forgetfulness both of my pain and sickness, and forcibly impresses on me, as a man exposed to all the shafts of fortune, that one ought only to be troubled if one is guilty of some crime or wickedness, and not because of misfortune or of the insults of the wicked. I therefore desire to be judged by my character, not by my fortunes. If you would write to me what you hear or see of this matter you would alleviate my vexations and gratify the desire of your friend. Again farewell.'

Shortly after the date of this letter Dolet found it needful, although suffering severely from illness, to leave his hiding-place and start for Lyons. He would seem to have performed the journey, about two hundred and fifty miles, on foot, in company with his faithful friend Simon Finet.

The summer was an unusually hot one, the roads deep in dust, and on his arrival at Le Puy en Velay he was again attacked by fever and detained some days. Here, just as he was leaving for Lyons, his heart was gladdened by receiving a letter from his friend Clausanus, to whom at his first halt on the same day he wrote or commenced a reply: 'Your letter delivered to me early this morning filled me with joy, because I found that all with you was as I wished it to be, and also because I found that you had not changed your intention of accompanying me to Italy. This letter, full of dust and hurry, I have written to you on my journey, at three hours' distance from Le Puy, where I had to stay for some days owing to a severe attack of illness. Now I am two days' distance from Lyons, where, unless my health prevents me from making my regular day's march, I shall arrive on the 1st of August.'[1]

Although he accomplished his design and reached Lyons on the 1st of August (1534), he arrived worn out both in mind and body. 'When I reached Lyons,' he afterwards wrote to Boyssone, 'I had no hope of restoration to health and even despaired of my life.'

[1] *Orat. Duæ*, p. 126.

CHAPTER IX

Lyons

'C'est un grand cas voir le Mont Pélion,
Ou d'avoir veu les ruines de Troye :
Mais qui ne voit la ville de Lyon,
Aucun plaisir à ses yeux il n'octroye.'

Clément Marot.

' N ancient city known by the name of Lugdunum formerly reared its head in a lofty situation, which, after it had been burnt down, was rebuilt by Plancus, then in command of the Roman armies, at the foot of the mountain looking towards the north. Through its centre the Saône rolls its sluggish waters, and on one side it is girded by the Rhône ; then each of the two streams flowing with a gentle current receives the other into its bosom. Rich, populous, and adorned with splendid buildings, it opens its markets as well to strangers as to its own citizens.'

Such is the description which in one of his poems Dolet gives us of the city which was henceforth to be his home, and which during a considerable part of the sixteenth century may fairly be considered the intellectual capital of France. It recalled Italy not only in its climate, but in its literary and artistic tastes, and in the intellectual freedom which (compared with the rest of France) it enjoyed. In civilisation, as well as in commerce, it was more Italian than French. Upwards of a century earlier we find the foundations laid of that colony of noble and learned Florentine merchants, some brought by political, others by commercial emergencies, which towards the end of the sixteenth century numbered upwards of fifty-nine families. The Pazzi and the Gondi had settled at Lyons in the fifteenth century, and had shown to the French that in the most civilised nation in the world the pursuit of commerce was not incompatible with nobility of birth, with polished manners, or with literary and artistic culture. Coming from what was the home of literature and art, the Italians brought with them that higher civilisation to which France was generally then a stranger.

Learned Italians and Greeks who followed introduced on this side of the Alps a knowledge of Greek and of a better Latin literature. Lyons then, as still, wealthy, turbulent, liberal and progressive, had given to the colony a hospitable welcome, and had been rewarded, not only by the advances made in civilisation and culture, but by the substantial advantages which the Italians rendered to the city. Great and flourishing as it had been for centuries, it is to the Italian colony that Lyons is indebted for the introduction of that art which subsequently made it the greatest and most flourishing commercial city of France—the manufacture of silk. It became the headquarters for all the monetary and commercial transactions between France and Italy. The strangers built mansions which rivalled in solidity and dignity

those of their forefathers at Florence or Lucca. They adorned the churches with a magnificence till then unknown. It was for the Florentine Chapel in the Dominican Church at Lyons (which by a special privilege was declared to be the parish church of the Florentines) that Salviati painted his great masterpiece *The Incredulity of St. Thomas.*

Nowhere out of Paris were there to be found during the sixteenth century so many or so distinguished men of letters as at Lyons. The literary natives and regular residents even were great in number, and many of them men of ability and eminence. Symphorien Champier, equally distinguished in medicine as in literature, occupied now in founding the College of Medicine, now in deciphering and arranging in order the old chronicles; Benoît Court, whose delightful commentaries on the *Arresta Amorum* afford one of the earliest specimens of that *spirituelle finesse* in which the French writers have since been so proficient; Maurice Scève, a poet and an antiquary, whose praises have been sounded by men so different as Marot, Du Bellay, and La Croix du Maine; his cousin Guillaume Scève, equally devoted to literature; Charles de Sainte Marthe, a poet, a theologian, and a reformer; Guillaume du Choul, whose collection of Roman coins and antiquities was the only one on this side the Alps worthy to be called a collection, and whose work on the castrametation of the Romans continued for two centuries the standard authority on that subject; Charles Fontaine, whose literary criticisms are always marked with point and sense, if we cannot accord to him the high rank as a poet which his contemporaries considered was his due; Barthélemi Aneau, whose *Mystère de la Nativité* is by many regarded as the parent of the French opera; Sanctes Pagnini, the great Hebraist, who had been a pupil of Savonarola; all these were at this time living at Lyons, where indeed they passed the greater part of their lives, and they form a

company of men of letters who could not be equalled in France out of Paris. Yet they were far eclipsed by the men of still greater eminence who resided for longer or shorter periods, and some of whom paid more than one lengthened visit to Lyons.

François Rabelais, Clément Marot, Michael Servetus, Bonaventure Des Periers, Salmon Macrin, Hubert Sussanneau, Nicolas Bourbon of Vandœuvre, all passed several years of their lives at Lyons between 1530 and 1540, whilst Erasmus, Robert Estienne, Pole, Sadolet, Calvin, Beza, Antoine de Gouvea, Émile Ferret, and Jean Second were no infrequent visitors; and Budé, the greatest in repute of all, must have visited Lyons at least twice, though I find no detailed accounts of his visits. It may be indeed that the greatest intellects of the time either resided wholly in Paris, or made but a temporary sojourn at Lyons. The Estiennes, Marot, and perhaps Beza, desired never to leave Paris, and only the bitter persecution which they experienced at the hands of the enemies of all learning, of all literature, of all enlightenment, drove them to seek homes in the freer commonwealths of Geneva and Berne, or among the mountains of Piedmont. Yet at Lyons there was far more intellectual freedom than at Paris. The sinister action of the Court and of the Sorbonne was less felt. The Cardinal de Tournon, bigot though he was, seems to have left the capital of the south, of which he was first the governor and afterwards the archbishop, more liberty than he allowed the royal city where his hopes and ambitions centred; while his lieutenants, the Trivulces and Jean de Peyrat, had strong sympathies with intellectual progress, and used all their influence (though often in vain) to protect letters and their students from the attacks of ecclesiastical bigotry. And a society that numbered among its members Rabelais, Marot, Des Periers, Dolet, Scève, Macrin, Champier, and Aneau, must have enjoyed a

freedom of intellectual intercourse which was wanting in the great capital so jealously watched over by the Sorbonne and the Parliament, where every word that could tend to religious or intellectual freedom was instantly pounced upon and brought its utterer under the censure—if not worse—of one of these venerable bodies.

If we are to believe the Père de Colonia[1]—and his statement has often been repeated—it is to Lyons that the honour belongs of the establishment of the earliest of those literary societies or academies for which France was afterwards to become so famous. The Academy of Fourvière (so called from the venerable mansion on the slopes of the hill of that name, the remains of the palace of the Roman emperors, in which the meetings took place) was founded, as we are told, very early in the sixteenth century by Humbert de Villeneuve and Hugues Fournier, afterwards successively First Presidents of the Parliament of Burgundy, Humbert Fournier, a brother of the last-named, Symphorien Champier, Benoît Court, Gonsalvo of Toledo, a learned Spanish physician then resident at Lyons, and others.

It is on a letter from Humbert Fournier to Symphorien Champier in 1507, and on a letter and certain odes of Voulté written in 1536, that the Père de Colonia has based his account of this Academy. But the letter of Fournier, which is printed at the end of Champier's treatise *De Quadruplici Vita*,[2] though full of interest, and proving the abundance of intellectual vigour at Lyons at this time, seems only to be an account of the mode in which Fournier and four friends passed their time in a summer visit to the country-house of Fournier, situate on the slopes of Fourvière; while the letter and odes of Jean Voulté, thirty years after-

[1] *Hist. Lit. de Lyon*, vol. ii. pp. 466 *et seq.*
[2] Lugduni, 1507.

wards, certainly refer to nothing more than the casual meetings of his literary friends.[1]

But it was not only by the presence of men of letters and science that Lyons was distinguished in the sixteenth century, but also by the extraordinary activity of its press, which rivalled that of Paris itself. Lyons was the second city in France where the art of printing was exercised, but it achieved a greater distinction than Paris, inasmuch as from its presses issued the first books printed in France in the French language. Nor is it at all improbable that the first French book printed in France was one, the publication of which in the vulgar tongue has ever been most bitterly objected to by all who have opposed themselves to intellectual, political, or social freedom. In 1472 Barthélemy Buyer, a wealthy and eminent citizen of Lyons, caused Guillaume Regis, or Le Roi, a skilful printer, to set up a press in his house, and there, shortly afterwards, under the superintendence of two learned Augustin friars, Julien Macho and Pierre Farget, was printed the New Testament in French, and also an abridgment or paraphrase of the Old Testament.[2]

[1] See as to this pretended Academy, Allut, *Étude sur Symphorien Champier* (Lyon, 1859), pp. 62-67.

[2] If, as seems now to be the generally-received opinion, *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, variously attributed to Caxton, to Colard Mansion, and to Ulric Zell, was not printed until 1475 or 1476, the books printed by Barthélemy Buyer at Lyons would be the earliest that were printed in the French language. Of these, *La Legende Dorée* is certainly the earliest with date (1476); but several bibliographers of repute, notably M. Péricaud Aîné (*Bibliographie Lyonnaise du xv. siècle*, p. 7) and Berjeau (*Bibliophile Illustré*, ii. p. 14), are of opinion that the New Testament and the Abridgment of the Old given in French by Buyer appeared in 1472, or 1473 at the latest. Berjeau is however in error in stating that these books bear date 1472. Two editions, as well of the New Testament as of the Abridgment of the Old, were given by Buyer about the same time, both undated, one of them printed with the same characters as the

The good work which Buyer commenced, continued and extended itself. More than seventy master printers practised their art in Lyons in the fifteenth century; and in addition to many of these, who continued to print for a considerable part of the following century, one hundred and eighteen additional names are found in the sixteenth century, besides many booksellers who were not themselves printers.[1] The printers of Lyons in the century and a quarter next after the introduction of the art were far more numerous than in the two centuries and three-quarters which have followed, and a prodigious number of books were given by them to the world. Eighty-four complete editions of the Bible (including the New Testament) are enumerated by Masch[2] as having issued from the Lyonese press during the first half of the sixteenth century, besides numerous editions of separate parts.

At the head of the profession when Dolet arrived there in 1534 (for printing was a learned profession, not a manual art) was Sebastian Gryphius, who, in the thirty-three years that he exercised the profession of a printer (from 1524 to

Lotharius Diaconus of 1473, the first book printed with a date at Lyons. Both the editions are in small folio, but one has long lines, and the other double columns. A copy of the edition of the New Testament with long lines, the property of Lord Spencer, was in the Caxton Exhibition. In the catalogue, 1477 is the suggested date, and this is the date also suggested by Madlle. Pellechet (*Cat. Gen. des Incunables*, 1897). The British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale each possess a copy. Another was bought by the Duc D'Aumale at the Solar sale for 1045 francs. The Duc de la Vallière's copy of the edition in two columns, which sold at the sale of his books in 1783 for 100 francs, was subsequently acquired by M. A. Firmin-Didot, and was sold at his sale (May 1879) for 3550 francs. Lord Crawford's copy of the *New Testament* (also in two columns) sold at his sale in 1887 (No. 367) for £200. See as to the difference in the two editions, Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. v. 746.

[1] Monfalcon, *Manuel du Bibliophile et de l'Archéologue Lyonnais.*

[2] *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

1556), printed upwards of one thousand different editions in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French. His son and successor was almost as prolific. The presses of the Tournes, the Rouilles, the Rigauds, the Frellons, and numerous others were constantly at work; and if it was not the good fortune of any Lyonese printer to give to the world an *editio princeps* of a Greek or Latin classic, yet it was to their presses, and particularly to those of the Gryphii, that the numerous small and cheap reprints of Latin texts were due, which were a greater boon to poor students.

But at the Lyonese presses of the sixteenth century there were also published original works which have placed their authors in the first rank of scholarship and literature. It was at Lyons that *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* first saw the light, that Marot first printed his *Enfer* and a complete edition of his works, that Sanctes Pagnini gave to the world his great Hebrew Lexicon, which, though now all but forgotten, contributed more than any single book to advance the study of the sacred language. When the study of Hebrew was forbidden at Paris by the Sorbonne, as impious, dangerous, and heretical, at Lyons Sanctes Pagnini could compose, and Gryphius could print without danger, a work which deservedly ranked with Robert Estienne's Latin *Thesaurus*, and the still greater Greek *Thesaurus* of his greater son.

Nor were the printers and correctors of the press unworthy of the authors. The prefaces and dedications written by Sebastian Gryphius would prove him to have been an excellent Latin scholar, even if this had not been made known to us by the praises given to him by J. C. Scaliger, Gesner, Sadolet, and many others. Rabelais, Sussanneau, and Dolet were readers or correctors of his press. The elder Tournes, for some years his journeyman, rivalled Gryphius in scholarship, and excelled him in typography;

while to Trechsel belongs the distinction of having the proofs of his edition of the *Canon of Avicenna* (printed in 1498) corrected by no less a person than the first Greek scholar in Europe, the French ambassador to Venice, in whose veins ran the blood of three emperors—the celebrated Jean Lascaris.

Yet one distinction of Lyons in the sixteenth century remains to be noticed. In no other city of Europe does there seem to have been so many cultivated women. Their glories must indeed pale before that of La Marguerite des Marguerites, but the ladies by whom she was surrounded do not seem to have emulated the literary culture of their mistress, and we look in vain in Paris or elsewhere in France for anything to compare, in the matter of cultivated female society, with Lyons. The name of Louise Labé—*La Belle Cordière*—is perhaps the only one that is familiar to the English reader, and she alone of the ladies of Lyons has attained the high position of a French classic. She well deserves her pre-eminence. Beautiful, accomplished, and wealthy, the centre of all that was noblest in the society of Lyons in the middle of the sixteenth century, she anticipated the nineteenth in her regrets that the severe laws of men hindered persons of her sex from devoting themselves to study, and she exhorted them as far as possible to raise their minds above their distaffs and spindles, and to show themselves worthy companions and rivals of the other sex in the pursuit of higher things, not indeed for the purpose of ruling, but of showing their capabilities for rule. Perhaps Louise Labé is the only one of the Lyonese ladies whose poems are still read : yet the rhymes of 'the gentle and virtuous dame Pernette du Guillet of Lyons' have been honoured with no less than five editions, two of them being in the nineteenth century ; and if inferior both in polish and force to those of her younger friend,

her verses have a simple grace which still interests. Contemporary with these ladies were the two sisters Claudine and Sibylla Scève (near relations of Maurice), of a rare talent for poetry as well as prose, to whom Marot has addressed one of his happiest odes; Jeanne Gaillard, whose response to a rondeau of the same poet has been thought fit to be placed by its side in the subsequent editions of Marot's works; and Clémence de Bourges, whom Duverdier calls the pearl of the Lyonese ladies of his time, the friend or the rival—possibly both—of Louise Labé, and who excelled in music equally as in poetry.

It was in the salons of the dame du Perron, the wife of Antoine de Gondi, that all that was most distinguished in the society of Lyons at this time was wont to assemble. There were to be found men of letters, musicians, and artists, together with persons of the highest rank,—'princes prelates, and kings,' according to the enthusiastic description of the poet and musician Eustorg de Beaulieu, in whose poetical account of the charms of the society which surrounded his patroness we may easily pardon a little exaggeration.

Dolet arrived at Lyons on the 1st of August 1534,[1]

[1] It is clear that it was the 1st of August 1534 that Dolet arrived at Lyons, and not the 1st of August 1533, as stated by Née de la Rochelle, who is of course followed by Boulmier. It was not until the 1st of August 1533 that the King visited Toulouse. Yet this event is referred to in Dolet's second oration, which must have been delivered, and Dolet's imprisonment at Toulouse must have occurred, subsequently to that date. The imprisonment was on the 25th of March, and as we know that he arrived at Lyons on the 1st of August following, this would be 1534. Moreover, in the letter of Jacques Bording dated Paris, Jan. 26, and written before Dolet's first imprisonment, he mentions that Béda had been lately restored to his office (*Orat. Duæ*, p. 166), but this event occurred at the end of 1533. He had been banished on the 26th of May 1533, and was recalled at the end of the same year. (Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, iii. pp. 53, 162, 272.) The orations,

and immediately visited the learned printer Sebastian Gryphius, and delivered the message of Boyssone. Born about 1491, at Reutlingen in Suabia, where his father, Michael Greyff or Gryff, exercised the art of printing,[1] Gryphius had settled at Lyons certainly as early as 1524, in which year an edition of the *Commentary* of Nicolas de Tudeschi upon the Decretals appeared with his name.[2] He printed certainly one other book, and probably more, in the next three years. But it was not until 1528 that his press became of importance. Previous to this year his only books had been huge folios of mediæval jurisprudence. He now set himself to rival the Aldi by publishing a series of Latin books, resembling theirs not only in form and type, but in general utility; and though he did not aspire to the glory of rivalling their Greek series, and published scarcely any original critical editions of Latin classics, yet, from the immense quantity of excellent books which issued from his

then, must have been printed between the 13th of August 1534, the date of the prefatory letter of Chrysogonus Hammonius, and the 15th of October the same year, the day on which Dolet arrived in Paris.

[1] Twelve books are enumerated by Panzer as issuing from his press between 1486 and 1496.

[2] According to Breghot du Lut and Péricaud Aîné (*Biographie Lyonnaise*) he printed as early as 1520 the tract of Romanus Aquila, *De Nominibus Figurarum*, but I have been unable to meet with a copy of this book, or to find any other mention of it and I doubt its existence. There are certainly several errors in the notice of Seb. Gryphius contained in the *Biog. Lyon.* He is there said to have printed a number of Greek classics. I have been unable to discover more than four Greek books, of which only one (*Æsop's Fables*) can be considered as a Greek classic. Latin translations, however, of nearly all the Greek classics were printed by him. He is further said (*Biog. Lyon.*) to have printed many other works (beaucoup d'autres ouvrages) from 1520 to 1528. I can find no traces of more than three before 1528, the edition referred to in the text, of N. de Tudeschi (Panormitanus) on the Decretals printed in 1524, the *Repertorium* of Bertachini de Fermo in 1525, and an edition of the works of Bartholus, referred to in the preface to Panormitanus.

press, Latin classics, Latin translations of Greek classics, reprints of the best recent or contemporary writers, Erasmus, Politian, Budé, he contributed more than any other printer to the popularising of literature and to the cause of intellectual progress. A few books in Hebrew, Greek, French and Italian, but the vast majority in Latin, issued from his press between 1528 and his death in 1556,[1] and were rapidly spread through the South of France, the North of Italy, and the adjacent parts of Switzerland and Germany. Many original works also, though not in equal numbers, nor generally (though occasionally) equal in merit, to those which the Manutii or the Estiennes had the good fortune to publish, were printed by Gryphius. But even original works of the highest merit were not wanting, and especially such as the Roman Inquisition and the censorship of the Sorbonne would have either refused to sanction or required some modifications of, in Italy or in Paris. It was through his press that the purest Latin prose writer of the age, the tolerant and excellent Bishop of Carpentras, Cardinal Sadolet, gave most of his works to the world, not seldom with a dedication or other grateful reference to the learned and accurate printer, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy and friendship.[2] It was Gryphius who in 1536 first printed that poem on the immortality of the soul by which the then unknown Aonio Paleario was recognised as

[1] I doubt whether any printer in the sixteenth century gave to the public an equal number of books during an equal period. In the same number of years Robert Estienne printed four hundred and sixty-six works.

[2] In 1535 appeared from the press of Gryphius the first edition of Sadolet's *Commentary on the Romans*,—a work to which the author had given much time and labour, but which, to his infinite mortification, was, very shortly after its appearance, censured and ordered to be suppressed by the Court of Rome on account of a fancied tendency to Pelagianism. Hence very few copies exist. It was reprinted in 1536 and 1537, with important suppressions and corrections.

the equal of Vida and Sannazar ; a poem modelled in style and manner (though not in its motive) after Lucretius, and which in the judgment of many contemporaries approaches near to that author's excellencies ; a poem which, although it placed the writer in the first rank of the Christian poets of the Renaissance, yet gave to the bloodhounds of the Inquisition the scent of a future prey, and which was followed in 1552 by the orations of the same author, also from the press of Gryphius, in which was the fatal sentence describing the Inquisition as a poniard directed against all men of letters (*sica districta in omnes scriptores*[1]), a sentence not to be forgotten or forgiven until it was expiated by the author on the scaffold nearly twenty years afterwards.

It was through the press of Gryphius that the elder Scaliger's critical treatises first saw the light ; and the great Julius Cæsar even condescended to address and print a complimentary letter to the printer on the occasion of the publication of his treatise, *De Causis Linguæ Latinæ*. Sebastian Gryphius was also the printer of the great Hebrew *Thesaurus* of Sanctes Pagnini, and of the Latin *Thesaurus* of Dolet, two works not easily rivalled in their several departments of scholarship in the sixteenth century, and which would have been considered as chefs-d'œuvre of typography had they not been thrown into the shade by the magnificent Latin Bible—the largest up to that time issued both in size and type—which Sebastian Gryphius printed in 1550.

Nor were lighter works wanting. Although Gryphius was pre-eminently the learned printer, as François Juste and Claude Nourry were the popular printers, of Lyons, yet the two earliest editions of the *Arresta Amorum*, with the erudite commentaries of Benoît Court, were printed by him :

[1] *Orat. pro se ipso ad Senenses.* The works of Paleario share with those of Dolet and of most others who have written what is worth reading the honours of the *Index Expurgatorius.*

and numerous Latin poets and epigrammatists found in him not merely a publisher, but a valued friend. The Latin classics of Gryphius have not preserved their value, and are but little sought for; yet they performed a most useful part in their day, and although he was perhaps not the first to use the small and convenient size which is generally known as 16mo or 24mo,[1] he first employed it to any large extent in his editions of the classics, and in this form they became the school-books of nearly half Europe.

Dolet's reception by the learned printer was, as we should expect from the latter's character, most friendly. 'I visited Sebastian Gryphius,' he wrote a few days afterwards to Boyssone, 'and saluted him in your name. I found him to be a man full of learning and kindness, and most worthy of the friendship of all learned men. He rejoiced greatly in my news of your prosperity and of your recovery of your position, and wished me to take up my residence with him; but whilst I was most grateful for his kindness, I was unwilling to be a burden to him.'[2]

But if from a feeling of independence Dolet declined the worthy printer's hospitality, yet the two soon formed a friendship which, unlike most of the friendships of Dolet, seems to have lasted unbroken to the close of his life. He dedicated to Gryphius the fourth book of his poems in 1538, and addressed him in these words:—

'What I more expressly aim at in this the fourth book of my poems, is that those who have been cultivators of virtue in their lifetime should after their deaths receive a

[1] The earliest book with which I am acquainted printed by Gryphius in this form (which is rather smaller than that which he subsequently adopted) is dated 1532. It is the aphorisms of Hippocrates, with a preface by Rabelais. In the same year Simon de Colines printed a Martial, and Robert Estienne a Terence, of the same size. These appear to be the earliest classics, if not the earliest printed books, in that form.

[2] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 125.

testimony to their merits.[1] You contribute to the same object by transmitting to posterity in your beautiful types the books on which the fame as well of the ancient authors as of our own contemporaries rests. I wish then this fourth book to be dedicated to you as an evidence of the laudable efforts of each of us, and as an eternal and perpetual pledge of the friendship which has so long subsisted between us.'

From this time and for the remaining twelve years of his life Lyons was the home of Dolet. Two visits to Paris of no great length, a flight to Piedmont in 1544, and his two long imprisonments, each of about fifteen months, leave him nearly eight years at Lyons, and eight years of hard incessant literary work. During these eight years, besides for a time correcting for the press of Gryphius and editing certainly three books for other printers, he published at least fifteen distinct original works of his own composition, some of them of considerable extent. He translated into French and printed at least five others. He printed and personally superintended through the press more than fifty other works of different writers in Greek, Latin, and French, to many of which he acted as editor and prefixed an ode or preface of his own composition.

His original purpose in making his way to Lyons was, as we have seen, to commit to the press his orations, poems, and letters; but on his arrival at that city, his physical and mental prostration were such, that he gave up for the present his intention. In his letter to Boyssone, written shortly after his arrival, where the passage already quoted occurs in which he says that on reaching Lyons he had no hope of restoration to health, but even despaired of his life, he continues,—

'Accordingly I have given up the intention with which I came here, namely, of printing my orations against Toulouse,

[1] The fourth book of Dolet's *Carmina* consists entirely of epitaphs.

and I am determined they shall not see the light until some certain hope of a restoration to health is afforded me'; and a few lines further on he speaks of himself as tormented with bodily pain, and feeling very near his last hour. A week later however he writes to Jean de Pins from a country retreat to which the Lyons physicians had sent him, and speaks less despairingly of himself, yet still implying that he was not thinking of immediately publishing his book.

Étienne Dolet to Jean de Pins

'My silence has been occasioned by a severe illness from which I have until now been suffering. Now that I am recovering from my almost hopeless and desperate state, and am hoping in a short time to be free from disease, I return to my former alacrity in letter-writing, and I hope by diligence to fill up the interval of my letters to you.

'When owing to the envy of despicable men and the hatred of wicked ones I left Toulouse, by the advice of my friends I concealed myself in the country and fled from the sight of my enemies. I chose a most pleasant spot, and one very convenient for the residence of the studious; but the happiness which I expected to find there was grudged me by fortune, and the violence of my enemies deprived me of it. I fled thence at the right time, and so prevented my enemies from feasting their eyes on my calamities, and gratifying their infamous cruelty by my arrest. Yet even whilst I stayed there I was unable, owing to my weak health, to enjoy the pleasantness of the place. Then, compelled by the persecution of my enemies to fly, and suffering from a severe disease, I set off for Lyons, with what intention, *my orations against Toulouse and my epigrams would have shown, had not the weak state of my health prevented me from publishing them.* For, the same diligence which I formerly

used in studying I now devote to the recovery of my health. I am now, by the advice of my physicians,[1] spending my time in the country, where they think, on account of the greater coolness of the climate, the remains of my disease may be more easily driven away ; nor do they hope without cause, the fever having left me for eight days. Indeed I am now recovering the flesh which when sick I had lost, and I already perceive myself to be twice the size I lately was. I only need the pleasure of your society, for great as was the delight and profit which I derived from the full enjoyment of it, still greater is the loss which I feel for the want of it. I grieve to a surprising degree that it is not permitted me to look upon, and to tend him, whose defence of my welfare was perpetual, firm, and invincible, than whom no one, however great his services, will ever be more honoured by me, and in speaking of and recalling to mind the many benefits which he has conferred upon me I could willingly pass all my time. You will hardly believe, my friend, how religiously I preserve the remembrance of your kindness. I often think with gratitude and pleasure how affectionately you treated me, how humanely you consoled me when I was harassed by troubles. Those plans of yours, so sensible and thought out with such wonderful care, by which you provided for my reputation, my position, my welfare, often come into my mind, and I do not forget that I owe everything, even my life, to you. . . .

'I will now bring my letter to an end, only adding the rumours which are noised abroad and talked over at Lyons.

'It is reported here that Clement the supreme pontiff has been suddenly carried off by poison. Owing to this all

[1] Who would these be ? Rabelais, Fournier, Symphorien Champier, Canappe, Du Castel, and Tolet were all then practising their profession at Lyons, and very soon after this time we find all of them, except Champier, on terms of great intimacy with Dolet.

the French cardinals have assembled here in order to proceed together to Rome for the purpose of choosing a God in the room of that God who has proved mortal, and of giving without corruption, and according to their convictions, their votes on the election of a pontiff. Many hope for a French pope ;[1] all talk of war, and have a suspicion that the matter will be the occasion of tumults.

'Among many there is an expectation that the king is about to arrive, and this is much talked of. Yet it is a thing rather wished for than expected, and the rumour just now is growing fainter and is almost extinct. These are the matters talked of here. . . . Farewell. Written in the country, Aug. 8.'[2]

In the meantime, strange as it must seem, the orations, the epistles, and the poems were preparing for, if not actually proceeding through, the press of Gryphius, under the editorship of Simon Finet, and, as the latter asserts, without the sanction or knowledge of Dolet. The book was rapidly pushed through the press, and was completed and issued some time between the 14th of August and the end of September 1534. This, the first work of Dolet, is a small octavo of two hundred and forty-six numbered and ten unnumbered pages, without date, place, or printer's name.[3] It commences with a letter from Simon Finet to Claude Cottereau, which begins as follows :—

[1] Du Prat had hopes of being elected.

[2] *Orat. Duæ in Tholosam*, p. 142.

[3] The title-page is simply as follows :—*Stephani Doleti Orationes Duæ in Tholosam. Eiusdem Epistolarum libri ii. Eiusdem Carminum libri ii. Ad eundem Epistolarum amicorum liber.* Although the words 'Lugduni apud Gryphium' are given both by Brunet and by Boulmier as being on the title, they are really not so. Boulmier indeed, although giving these words in his Bibliographie Dolétienne, yet says correctly elsewhere (p. 73) that the orations appeared without the printer's name or place of publication. But he goes on to say, 'Mais une lettre de Chrysogon

'Do you think what I have done is to be considered as a crime, or is it not rather a matter for praise? Here is the fact in a few words; do you decide upon it. You are not ignorant of the great intimacy between Étienne Dolet and myself. When the violent threats and still more the baleful influence of a certain wicked and abandoned man compelled him to leave Toulouse, he took me as his companion to Lyons, with the intention of publishing both what he had written against Toulouse, and also some letters and very graceful odes which he had addressed to divers persons. In this way he sought by his pen to avenge the injuries which he had received at Toulouse. But no sooner were we come here, than he was again attacked by a serious illness, similar to that from which he had only just recovered, and it was speedily turned into a quartan ague. You who know so well the force and nobleness of his mind, so ready to despise and even to laugh at external misfortunes, will not doubt how manfully he struggled against the effects of disease. At length, however, growing weary of the perpetual conflicts against hostile fate, he has laid aside his intention of publishing his writings, and thinks of nothing but how his health may be restored as speedily as possible. It has, however, been a source of great grief to me that the publication which would so greatly increase the reputation and fame of our friend should be any longer deferred, and especially that this should be caused by his illness, and it has also been a great trouble to me that those who have so infamously

Hammonius, un des amis de Dolet, nous apprend qu'elles furent imprimées chez Gryphius.' Not a word of this appears in the letter of Hammonius. It is, however, abundantly clear from the typography, and particularly from the woodcut initial letters, that the book was printed by Seb. Gryphius. We learn from the letter of Odonus (post p. 224) that Gryphius was unwilling to print the volume, and perhaps this unwillingness was the cause of the absence of his name.

outraged him by their insults, should any longer boast themselves against him with impunity. You now know the course I have taken with a view to promote the reputation of the man whom I love, and it is for you to judge whether I am to be praised or blamed for it. The two orations which he delivered at Toulouse (to a greater crowd of auditors than has within my memory been addressed by any orator), upon no far-fetched or imaginary subject, but upon one which was real and as it were thrust upon him, I have furtively seized. I have increased my theft by two books of epistles, which marvellously harmonise with the arguments of the orations; and, lastly, grown still more eager by so rich a prey, I have purloined two books of odes, and I now publish these without the sanction, and even without the knowledge of their author. Well? Now I am awaiting your judgment.'

The rest of the epistle is occupied with a defence of his own conduct, and with greatly exaggerated praise of the genius and attainments of Dolet, which, ridiculous as they are in the original, would appear still more so in English. The writer then concludes: 'Whatever may be your judgment, whilst Dolet by the advice of his physicians is avoiding the heat of the summer and is staying in the country, I shall give my attention to printing the works to which I have referred, but shall not inform the author of the fact until we arrive at Padua. I have already written to you that so soon as the heat is less we think of setting out for that city. In the meantime let me hear from you what you are doing, and how diligently you are devoting yourself to literature. Farewell. Lyons (Aug. 1?[1]).'

This letter is followed by one purporting to be addressed

[1] The date of this letter, 'ad calend. Sext.,' is clearly wrong. It was written some time after Dolet's arrival at Lyons, which was on August 1. For 'Sext.' I should read 'Sept.'

by Chrysogonus Hammonius, an Italian, 'Critoni Archagato,'[1] which, after some generalities and laudatory remarks on Dolet, thus proceeds: 'By chance yesterday I was visiting the publisher, when whom should I meet but Simon Finet, the most intimate friend of Dolet. Noticing from his countenance that he was somewhat excited and perturbed, I asked him what his business was with the printer; he (a man of no small culture) replied, "I am about to make public a treasure," and at the same time he showed me two orations of Dolet, than which I have never read anything more elegant or clever. These, out of regard to his friend's reputation, he had purloined from their author, who, having decided to postpone the publication of a work of such great merit, afforded to Finet a pretext for his theft. . . . But I am not able to express how severely the author will feel this publication of his treatises or how bitter will be his complaints against us. . . . Lyons, Aug. 13.'

It is difficult to believe that any one could be taken in by these pretences, and the publication certainly reflects as much discredit upon the good faith of Dolet as that of the letters of Swift upon the good faith of Pope. In both the motive was the same, in both great abilities were disfigured by inordinate vanity. The issue of the orations

[1] I am unable to discover who Chrysogonus Hammonius or Crito the Archagatus were. Dolet has an ode on the death of the former in the fourth book of his Carmina. Of Simon Finet we know nothing save that he was the Pylades of our Orestes. MM. Des Marets and Rathery are clearly in error in attempting, in the biography of Rabelais prefixed to their excellent edition of his works, to identify him with a certain Φίνετος, a friend and brother cordelier of Rabelais at the abbey of Fontenay, who is referred to by Budé in his Greek epistles. Φίνετος, who was a man and probably a priest when Budé wrote of him, at the latest in 1522, was much senior in age to Simon Finet, the fellow-student of Dolet at Toulouse in 1533.

however—though there is nothing in them to deserve publication, and much that could not fail to irritate—was merely an indiscretion, and one easily pardonable in the vain and clever author, whose head had been turned as much by the bitter hostility which his orations had excited among the bigots and the ignorant, as by the exaggerated praises of his friends. But for the publication of many of the letters no excuse can be made. Dolet, indeed, may well be pardoned for desiring to set before the world the terms on which he corresponded with Jean de Pins, with Langeac, and with the great Budé himself, nor is there anything in their letters which the writers could object to have printed; but to publish the letters of Boyssone, who had so narrowly escaped the fate of Jean de Caturce, and whose letters were of so compromising a character that Dolet did not even venture to affix to them the name of the writer (however apparent from internal evidence), of Arnoul Le Ferron, who had expressly requested that his letters might be preserved in the strictest secrecy,[1] of Bording, who clearly expressed himself about persons and things with a freedom he would not have used had he supposed his letters would be given to the world, and the publication of which might have brought him into most serious danger as long as Béda was in power at the Sorbonne and Lizet First President of the Parliament, was more than an indiscretion, it was an act deserving of severe censure,—a censure which must be increased when, as we find in the case of Le Ferron's letters, that they were not precisely as their author had written them, but that some expressions had been altered, possibly to others more agreeable to the irritable vanity of Dolet.[2] At the

[1] See ante, p. 130.

[2] See letter of J. C. Scaliger to Le Ferron, Schelhorn's *Amœnitates*, viii. 584: 'Quid enim perfidiosius quam amicos inter se committere? Epistolas ad se abs te datas invertisse? Aliis alia verba substituisse?

same time we should, in justice to Dolet, bear in mind that he may in all these cases have omitted what he thought the writers would disapprove of being published, and that in the case of Le Ferron and Boyssone the publication did not interfere with their friendship with our hero—whether it was that they believed or professed to believe the transparent fiction of Finet, or whether their regard for Dolet induced them to overlook an indiscretion which a combination of youthful vanity and youthful talent had perhaps occasioned.

The letter of Chrysogonus Hammonius is followed by an ode of Guillaume Scève[1] to Dolet, in which, after lamenting the untimely deaths in Italy of the two lights of France, Longolius and Simon Villanovanus, the writer says that the hopes and expectations of Gaul are now fixed upon Dolet.

After the orations come two books of letters from Dolet, from which I have already made many extracts.[2] Then

delevisse? induxisse?' This letter shows us that both Le Ferron and his friends felt that he had good grounds of complaint against Dolet for printing the correspondence.

[1] G. Scève seems about this time to have acted as the principal editor, reader, and corrector of the press of Gryphius.

[2] These letters consist of seven letters to Boyssone, six to Bording, five to Breslay, four to Jean de Pins, three to Le Ferron, three to Jean de Langeac, three to Petrus Castellanus, two to Budé, two to Finet, two to Eustace Prévost, two to the President de Minut, one to Francis de Langeac, one to Claude Cottereau, and one to each of the following persons—Thomas Cassander, Jean Maumont, Arnold Fabricius, Joannes Clausanus, Jacobus Calanconius, Jacobus Rostanus, Claudius Barroo, Joannes Lepidus, and Claude Sonnet. Petrus Castellanus cannot be, as I stated in the first edition of this book, Pierre du Châtel (afterwards Bishop of Tulle), and was probably Pierre du Castel who succeeded Rabelais as physician to the Hospital of Lyons in 1535. See W. F. Smith's translation of Rabelais, vol. ii. p. 509.

Hallam's just remark on the Ciceronians of Italy is equally applicable to many of these letters: 'The praise of writing pure Latin, or the pleasure of reading it, is dearly bought when accompanied by such vacuity of sense as we experience in the elaborate epistles of Paulus Manutius and the Ciceronian school in Italy.'

comes a book of letters from his friends, comprising three from Le Ferron, two from Boyssone (though without his name), one from Jean de Pins to Dolet, and one from the same to Minut in his behalf, five from Bording, two from Breslay, and one from Budé.

The epistles are followed by two books of Carmina, several of the more noteworthy of which I have already cited or referred to. Of various merit and without ever attaining to the foremost rank of the Latin verse of that period, many of them display much skill in versification, and some a high degree of poetic feeling and grace. Julius Cæsar Scaliger indeed, who joined in hounding the unfortunate author to death and branding him with the name of Atheist, and who brutally rejoiced over the flames which consumed him, calls his poetry 'languida, frigida, insulsa, plenissima vecordiæ,' and says that its author deserves the name, not of poet, but of 'poeticum excrementum.'[1] But when we recollect that Julius Cæsar Scaliger placed Homer far below Virgil, and that his own poems are justly described by Huet as 'les poésies brutes et informes dont il a déshonoré le Parnasse,' we shall probably not feel disposed to follow him as our guide in his judgment of one whom he hated with so bitter and relentless a hatred.

On the last page of the book appears for the first time the motto, taken from the Epistles of his master Cicero, which afterwards when a printer he placed at the end of all the Latin and many of the French books printed by him, and which is so applicable to his life, *Durior est spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ conditio.*

On his restoration to health Dolet passed about six weeks at Lyons, where he soon became intimate with several of the leading men of letters there, upon whom he

[1] J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices* lib. vi.

would seem to have made a most favourable impression. Hortensio Lando was then at Lyons, superintending through the press of Gryphius his *Cicero Relegatus* and *Cicero Revocatus*. It is not improbable that Dolet had known him in Italy. Certainly at this time at Lyons the two men were on terms of intimacy. It was at this period that his friendship commenced with Maurice and Guillaume Scève, and that he made the acquaintance, soon ripening into intimacy and friendship, of the great man with whom his name has ever since been inseparably connected—the greatest genius of the age—François Rabelais. Rabelais had arrived at Lyons from Montpellier early in 1532, but although he had as yet published nothing, his reputation as a physician, a scholar, and above all as a humourist, had preceded him; and he had no sooner arrived at the intellectual capital of the South, than his services were secured by two printers and booksellers,—the learned Sebastian Gryphius, for whom he edited certain apocryphal fragments of Cuspidius which he believed to be genuine, wrote and signed several Latin prefaces, and edited the Greek text with a revised translation of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and Claude Nourry, the printer for the vulgar and in the vulgar tongue, for whom he wrote, though anonymously, comic and satirical almanacs and prognostications[1] and 'the great and inestimable *Chronicles of Gargantua*,' and through whose press, some time before Dolet's arrival at Lyons, he gave to the world the first book of the divine *Pantagruel*. For the first time the comedy of human life was faithfully

[1] M. Michelet (*Hist. de France au Seizième Siècle*) states that Rabelais wrote for Dolet and other booksellers popular publications, such as almanacs and satires. He quotes no authority for this statement, which is certainly, as far as Dolet is concerned, erroneous. Dolet printed no almanac or satire, nor any work of Rabelais except *Gargantua* and the first book of *Pantagruel*, his edition of which appeared in 1542.

represented ; it may be profanely and coarsely, but with a vigour and geniality, a goodness of heart, a kindness and a sympathy for the sufferings and weaknesses of humanity, for the weak against the strong, with a jovial humour, and above all a keenness, yet never bitterness of satire, such as never, either before or since, has been elsewhere seen.

In Rabelais the genius of the Renaissance appears in its fullest development, and he alone is sufficient to disprove the shallow judgment so often repeated, 'The Renaissance gave birth to nothing.' The Renaissance was not the mere return to the literary forms of antiquity, it was a return to its substance, a return to freedom of thought, and it brought with it a recognition of natural goodness, which the theologians of the Middle Ages had refused to allow, and which the Reformers equally with the followers of Rome agreed in declaring to be heresy.

'Gens libres, bien nés, bien instruits, conversant en compagnies honnêtes, ont par nature un instinct et aiguillon qui toujours les pousse à faits vertueux et les retire de vice ; lequel ils nomment l'honneur.'[1]

There is a species of biography which deals largely in imaginary facts, and few temptations are stronger to a biographer of one who, like Rabelais, has so greatly influenced all subsequent generations of Frenchmen, than to consider how in his great work he was himself likely to be influenced by his contemporaries and friends, and from that likelihood to infer and state not only the fact of such influence, but to imagine in detail the circumstances attend-

[1] *Garg.* c. lvii. M. Martin (*Hist. de France*, lib. 48) remarks on this passage, 'Ce n'est pas seulement l'antipode du monachisme : c'est au moins autant l'antipode du protestantisme, qui part de la corruption totale de la nature, et de l'entière impuissance de l'homme pour le bien ; c'est l'extrême contraire. . . . L'évangile de Rabelais n'est que celui de la charité et non de la grace et de la rédemption.'

ing it. That Rabelais and Dolet formed a close intimacy and friendship during the two months that the latter spent at Lyons in the autumn of 1534, and that the friendship so formed continued for several years, until, like most of the friendships of our unfortunate hero, it was terminated in circumstances which, in the opinion of Rabelais, gave him the right of bitter complaint against Dolet, is certain; but though, from Dolet's odes to Rabelais, we see that he recognised the genius of the latter, yet of the genial humour and gentle humanity of the great satirist there is no trace in Dolet.

The *Encomium Moriæ* was the true precursor of *Pantagruel*, and the words with which the former concludes form an admirable prologue to the latter, 'Quare valete plaudite vivite bibite Moriæ celeberrimi mystæ.'[1] Yet the *Praise of Folly* was not to the taste of Dolet, though whether this arose from an incapacity to appreciate wit and humour, or from his dislike to the anti-Ciceronianism of Erasmus, may be doubtful. This is how he expresses himself in reference to perhaps the wittiest book of the day:[2] 'Most persons vehemently praise the *Encomium Moriæ*, many really admire it; yet if you examine it, the impudence of Erasmus will strike you rather than the real force of his language. He laughs, jokes, makes fun, irritates, inveighs, and raises a smile even at Christ himself.' These words, which I regret to quote, suggest to us a doubt whether Dolet was or could have been a Pantagruelist, whether he could have looked on life otherwise than most seriously, and whether there could have been really much in common between him and

[1] The remark of Erasmus, the first time he tasted real Burgundy, is worthy of Brother Jean des Entommeures himself: 'O felicem vel hoc nomine Burgundiam planeque dignam, quæ mater hominum dicatur, posteaquam tale lac habet in uberibus.' As to the wines of the country, 'Digna quæ bibantur hereticis.'—*Epist.* 650, p. 752.

[2] 1 *Comment. Ling. Lat.* 1084.

Rabelais. But here is what one of the best informed, ablest, and most *spirituel* of the critics and biographers of Rabelais, M. Eugene Noël, says of the intercourse between him and Dolet: 'From Montpellier Rabelais went to Lyons, where with Dolet and several other Pantagruelists conversation went on more vigorously than ever. Dolet was not only an able printer, he was a philosopher and a poet, one of the most elevated and noblest spirits of the age. We have more than twenty works by him in Latin and French, in verse and prose. He translated Cicero and Plato. He was one of the first to print the Gospel in the vulgar tongue. *It was he who advised Rabelais no longer to confine himself to translations and commentaries, but to cast into the intellectual conflict a work really his own. He wished him to give a summary of the philosophy of the age, to give to the disquieted world a word of new consolation.*

'Yes, Rabelais would say, but a book really human must address itself to all. The time is come for philosophy to go out of the schools, and shine like the sun on the whole universe. At this time we ought to hold the ignorant as well as the learned at the breast of truth. For my part, if I write a philosophical book, I should wish that it should console and amuse as well the worthy vine-dressers of La Devinière and the topers of Chinon as the most learned men; that it should be the universal *piot*;[1] that princes, kings, emperors, and poor people should come there of their own accord to drink together gaily. The truth—the path to which is sufficiently difficult—should be, no less than the Gospel of God, presented under a living form so human, so gentle, that, being accepted by all, it may rouse the soul of all to a community of thought. What other course is there than, taking one's stand on the eternal conscience, to relate

[1] 'Cette nectarique, delicieuse, precieuse, celeste, joyeuse, deifique liqueur qu'on nomme *le piot*.'—*Pantagruel*, ii. c. 1.

to the people the stories which they delight in hearing, and which they themselves have composed? For example, those chronicles of giants, printed over and over again in our time since the discovery of that divine art which you practise, seem to me extremely suited to my purpose. Through all France I shall recount the astonishing feats of the enormous giant Gargantua. I must seize upon this story, include the whole world in it, and then return it so ennobled to the good people who originated it. Here is the true secret; learn from the most simple folk their idea, and then ornament it with all that study and philosophy have revealed to us. The rustic and the village thought is the point with which I wish to connect all the hidden treasures, up to this time concealed by the enemies of light.

'Well, Dolet would say, here are my presses, they are ready for you. Recount the history of Gargantua; fill it with pantagruelism, make of it our chronicle, our philosophical chrism. Courage; the world is perishing with thirst and with rage, it is for you to quench it. I place myself at your service; be the invincible propagator of the truth; with you, if needs be, I shall brave the funeral pile.

'Up to what point the preceding is true as to its form I am ignorant, but *what is certain is*, *that Rabelais and Dolet conversed much upon these things*, *that Dolet urged Rabelais to write his chronicle*, and that the *Gargantua* appeared in the month of December in the same year, 1532.'

Now the reader will be surprised to learn, not only that there is no evidence whatever on which to base M. Noël's statements as to the influence of Dolet upon Rabelais, and as to these conversations and Dolet's suggestions, but that such conversations could not possibly have taken place, nor could such suggestions possibly have been made.

In sober fact, in December 1532, the latest date which can be ascribed to the first edition of the first book of

Pantagruel, Dolet was still a student at Toulouse, he was not a printer until six years later, and Rabelais and he had never met. Their acquaintance, which commenced in August 1534, soon ripened into friendship, though in a very few weeks after they first met their opportunities of personal intercourse ceased for a time.

CHAPTER X

The Ciceronians

Ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.
Horace.

Seraphic Doctor. The Lord have mercy on your position,
You wretched, wrangling culler of herbs!
Cherubic Doctor. May he send your soul to eternal perdition
For your treatise on the irregular verbs!
Longfellow.

IN the meantime Dolet had given up the idea of practising the law and of returning to Italy to prosecute his studies. In the cultivated literary society of Lyons he returned to his original intention of devoting his life to letters, an intention which he had only given up out of deference to the advice of Jean de Langeac. The latter had now retired from public affairs to the seclusion of his episcopal city of Limoges, and his influence

was probably but slender. The decree of the Parliament of Toulouse had cut off all hopes which Dolet might have entertained of filling some legal office within its jurisdiction which the influence of Jean de Pins might have obtained for him. Moreover, the publication of the *Orations* had certainly taken away any *locus pœnitentiæ*, if indeed any such had previously been possible. He was now hard at work on his *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, his *opus magnum*, which he hoped and believed, and not on altogether insufficient grounds, would be the most important contribution to Latin scholarship the modern world had as yet seen. As a *πάρεργον* he was preparing to break a lance in defence of Cicero and Longolius with the most eminent and popular writer and scholar of the age.

By the publication (in 1528) of his dialogue *Ciceronianus*, Erasmus had excited the violent hatred of the Ciceronians. The object of the book was to ridicule those pedants whose admiration for Cicero was so great that they refused to make use of any word or phrase which was not to be found in that writer, and who accordingly, when treating of Christian subjects, were obliged to make use of the most inappropriate names, titles, and expressions, adapted only to the pagan worship. What absurdity could be greater than to call the apostles *Patres conscripti*, the Virgin Mary *Lauretana Virgo*, or to substitute for excommunication *interdictio aquæ et ignis?* The three persons of the Trinity were the *Dii majores*, the saints the *Dii minores*. But the Ciceronians regarded Cicero not only as a master of style, but as an infallible guide on every subject on which he had spoken. Erasmus had long treated these foolish pedants as they deserved, being himself perhaps too careless of style and form, and judging of all writings according to the weight and value of the matter. Treating of the subjects which interested his own day he used freely all kinds of

expressions, not altogether barbarous, which he found in any Latin writer, whether heathen or Christian. The opinions and practices of Erasmus on this subject had long been well known, and the Italians in particular, who were the chief Ciceronians, could not bear to see themselves eclipsed in reputation by a barbarian, especially one who placed matter above form and style, and while paying all due respect to Cicero, declined to worship him as a god. They accordingly accused him of heresy, they nicknamed him *Porrophagus* because of his frequent use of the word *Porro*, they charged him with stealing his translations, and with blundering in his emendations. To revenge himself for these attacks, and to crush once for all the folly of the sect, was the object of the *Ciceronianus*, which, after the *Encomium Moriæ*, is perhaps the most lively and entertaining of his works, written, as Gibbon has remarked, with that exquisite species of humour of which the *Lettres Provinciales* offer so fine a specimen. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nosoponus the Ciceronian, and two others, Bulephorus and Hypologus, who by pretending to sympathise with him, draw out the full admission of his absurdities, and succeed at last in restoring him to a greater soundness of mind than before. Nosoponus recounts how he has disposed of his library and has devoted himself for seven entire years to reading nothing but Cicero, how he has made an alphabetical index of all the words used by Cicero, another of all his expressions and forms of speech, a third of the feet of which he has made use at the beginning, at the middle, and at the end of his sentences, how he has noted all the words that Cicero has used merely in the singular or merely in the plural. The true Ciceronian, he says, must not only use no word which is not to be found in Cicero, but no inflection or part of a word : thus if Cicero use *Amo*, but not *Amamus*, the former is alone allowable ; when he desires to compose,

say an epistle to a friend, he must carefully examine the letters of Cicero, must for each sentence first select from them words and parts of speech, expressions must then be added as appropriate ornaments. Thus a night will sometimes be spent in the composition of a single sentence, but a sentence which even then will need careful and anxious revision and recasting again and again. The sense is altogether a minor consideration. Bulephorus then proceeds to expose the absurdity of all this, using the Socratic method, and putting his questions in such a form, that Nosoponus is unable to refuse to admit what his opponent requires. He draws from Nosoponus the admission that humour is a part of rhetoric, but that there Cicero was deficient ; that brevity is sometimes required, but that in this Sallust and Brutus are better models ; that some parts of Cicero are lost, and therefore no one could be a perfect or complete Ciceronian, since he must be ignorant of many words and phrases which Cicero would have used ; that even in his extant writings Cicero is not always equal ; that he himself valued some of his books more than others, and that those who imitated him so exactly are after all but apes, sharing neither in his genius nor in his thoughts, and making but ridiculous imitations of his style. Then Bulephorus proceeds to show how utterly impossible it is to describe Christian mysteries and Christian doctrines by Ciceronian words, and into what absurdities they have fallen who have attempted this. He then passes in review the several Latin writers from the days of Cicero downwards, and shows that not one of these was a Ciceronian according to the views of Nosoponus. It was in this part that Erasmus gave so much offence to the French, by placing Badius and Budæus on a level, perhaps giving the superiority as a writer of Latin to Badius. To Longolius he devotes several pages, and while admitting the elegance, purity, and other merits of his style, the

ingenuity of his arguments, and the justness of his sentiments, he shows the utter emptiness and fatuity of the orations of the vain and formal young Ciceronian, consisting as they did for the most part of words and phrases devoid of any substance, and often utterly absurd, and taking a dozen lines to express what half a line would have been sufficient for.

Notwithstanding the respectful terms in which Erasmus had spoken of all who then wrote or aimed at writing in the style of Cicero, and especially of the two leading Ciceronians, Bembo and Sadolet, the publication of the *Ciceronianus* roused much indignation among the servile imitators of the great Roman orator. The French were irritated by the apparent slight on Budé, the Italians professed to think that by Nosoponus, Bembo was intended. The two future cardinals indeed, being not merely Ciceronians, but accomplished men of the world, were in no degree offended by the book, and were probably willing to laugh at the absurdities of their followers. There resided, however, at this time at Agen, a then unknown and obscure Italian possessed of great learning and great abilities, but whose vanity, self-conceit, violence of temper, and virulence of language, certainly equalled if they did not outweigh his real merits. His family was the noblest and most ancient in the world. In his veins flowed the blood of emperors and princes who had excelled all others in bravery, generosity, and magnanimity. He was sixth in descent from the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, the last, the most accomplished, and the most unfortunate of the Hunniadæ, was his near kinsman. Every one has heard of the ten daughters of his kinswoman Beatrice Duchess of Milan, all of whom married into the greatest sovereign houses of Europe, one to the King of Sicily, another to Edward, son of the King of England. Yet

his own greatness of character far exceeded that of the most distinguished among his ancestors. He united in his own person the characteristics of Masinissa and Xenophon, but the combination affords only an insufficient and feeble idea of the man. Indeed, he must have excelled both of them, as well in bodily as in mental qualities. At sixty-two years of age, when he had almost lost the use of his hands, he lifted into its place an enormous beam which four ordinary men had not been able to move. Many similar feats, in which we are at a loss whether most to admire his strength or his agility, make us think that an excessive modesty only induced him to compare himself with Masinissa. Hercules would have been a more fitting subject for comparison. His military prowess equalled his learning. He had no less distinguished himself by his bravery as a private soldier than by his skill and ability as a general; and if he had not always been successful, this was owing neither to want of courage nor to want of military skill, but to the shafts of adverse fortune. At the battle of Ravenna he displayed prodigies of valour on the side and under the eyes of the Emperor Maximilian; he recovered from the French the dead bodies of his father and his brother Titus, and the eagle of which Titus was the bearer, and which he restored to his imperial cousin. Maximilian could do no less than reward the valour of his kinsman with the highest honours of chivalry; with his own hand the Emperor conferred upon him the collar, the spurs, and the eagle of gold, in like manner as the Emperors Henry VII. and Lewis V. had conferred them upon his ancestors Alboin, Can Grande, and Mastino. Yet, were it not for the letter in which these details are related, we should have said that it was proved as clearly as any historical fact could be that Maximilian was not present at the battle of Ravenna, and that his five thousand lansquenets fought by the side of Gaston de

Foix and contributed in no small degree to the French victory. But the military powers of the man were eclipsed by his literary genius. There was no branch of literature or science which he had not mastered. At one time he had determined to take holy orders, in the expectation that in due time he would be appointed cardinal, and then elected pope, when he would have wrested from the Venetians his principality of Verona, of which the Republic had despoiled his ancestors.

That so great a genius should have been contented with the *rôle* of physician to the Bishop of Agen—it is in this humble position at the age of forty-two that the light of contemporary history first shines upon Julius Cæsar Scaliger—was not to be expected. Whatever the truth or fable of the first forty-two years of his life, whether he was really of the blood of those to whose memory the noblest monuments of the Middle Ages were erected, or whether, as his enemies said, he was the son of Benedetti Bordoni, schoolmaster or illuminator at Verona, it is certain that for his last thirty years he displayed no lack of bodily or mental vigour. Chafing in the obscurity to which fate had condemned him, he seized the opportunity which the *Ciceronianus* afforded of making himself known and of insuring for himself—at least from the numerous enemies of Erasmus—a favourable hearing. After preparing the way by certain pompous and violent letters to the Rector of the University and the students of the several colleges of Paris, he wrote in 1529, but did not succeed in printing until 1531, his first oration against Erasmus. It was printed under the supervision or editorship of Noël Béda, and with the express permission of the Lieutenant-Criminel, Jean Morin. It consists almost wholly of violent abuse. The following are a few only of the expressions applied to the great scholar :—carnifex, parricida, furia, canicula,

calumniator. He is accused of folly, arrogance, spite, lying, drunkenness, 'canina impudentia.' Yet in Scaliger's letters to Le Ferron he outdoes even these flowers of rhetoric; Erasmus is there referred to as 'omnium ordinum labes, omnium studiorum macula, omnium ætatum venenum, mendaciorum parens, conviciorum sator, furoris alumnus.' He is 'scelestus, mentiens, insaniens, barbarus, blaterans.'

The publication of this harangue, if in one respect it satisfied its author's expectation by giving him the notoriety which he had hoped for, was yet the occasion of a most bitter mortification to him. He had expected that Erasmus would at once reply to it, and that he thus might enjoy the honour of a controversy with the greatest scholar of the age. But Erasmus was too accustomed to abuse to pay much attention to it, and he as well as his friends saw that his reputation could in no way be injured by this violent harangue. He accordingly took no public notice of it; never having before heard the name of the writer, and thinking, not unnaturally, that such violent personal abuse could only arise from violent personal enmity. Erasmus did not believe that Scaliger was the real author, but attributed the oration to Aleander, whose style he was certain he recognised. He wrote on May 3, 1532:—'I who know Aleander inside and out, am as sure that it is his as I am of my own existence.'[1] Scaliger waited in vain for a reply to his book. Mortified by the contemptuous neglect of Erasmus, he was contemplating a further harangue on the same subject, when he received in April 1535 from his friends Merbelius and Laurentius a letter[2] which Erasmus had written to them on the 18th

[1] *Erasmi Epistolæ*, No. 1218 (Le Clerc's edit.). 'Ego qui de domestico convictu ac lectuli quoque contubernio totum intus et in cute novi, tam scio esse ovum illius quam scio me vivere.'

[2] *Epist.* 1278.

of the previous month defending himself from the charge of being an enemy of Cicero, and saying that he knew the oration of Scaliger, so full of lies and abuse, was not written by him. We can understand the combination of rage and mortified vanity which filled Scaliger's mind on reading this letter, sent to him without a word of sympathy or even politeness by his good-natured friends. He instantly applied himself to the composition of a second harangue, more violent, more abusive, with more self-glorification, but with even less literary merit, than the first. It was completed in the month of September the same year, and immediately sent to Paris to be printed. But delays occurred ; a year elapsed before it appeared ; and when in December 1536 it was given to the world, Erasmus, who had heard that it had been written, but had not seen it, had joined the majority.[1]

Dolet was not less displeased than Scaliger with the *Ciceronianus*. It was the attack—so he was pleased to consider it—upon the cherished master and friend of Simon Villanovanus, Longolius, the only man from this side of the Alps who had made a name as a Ciceronian, and whom Dolet had accustomed himself to consider as the most perfect disciple of the great master, that especially roused his indignation ; a feeling which we must allow to have

[1] Although printed (and published) in November or December 1536, yet in accordance with the vicious practice early introduced amongst publishers, and not yet obsolete, it is dated 1537. The original editions of both harangues are extremely scarce. The first harangue was reprinted at Cologne in 1600, and again, with notes by Melchior Adam, at Heidelberg in 1618. In 1621 the President de Maussac having discovered a copy of each of the harangues, and also some unpublished letters and portions of letters of J. C. Scaliger, which Joseph's pious regard for his father's reputation had induced him to suppress, and which are still more discreditable to Julius Cæsar than the harangues, published them at Toulouse, together with the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus.

sprung from a generous impulse, even though we may not share it. But this was not the only cause of his indignation. If there was one living man for whom he had an unfeigned respect, and whom he placed at the head of all living scholars, it was Budé, and he conceived that Erasmus had intended a deliberate insult to this great man by placing him on a level with Josse Bade.

He left Lyons early in October 1534, and arrived in Paris on the 15th of the same month. His principal object in visiting the capital seems to have been to obtain the royal license for the publication of his *Commentaries*. For some weeks after his arrival he devoted himself partly to his great work, partly to composing *A Dialogue concerning the imitation of Cicero in defence of Christopher Longolius against Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*. It is dedicated to Bishop de Langeac, and as soon as it was completed he sent it to Guillaume Scève, accompanied by the following letter :—

'On the 15th of October I arrived at Paris without excessive fatigue and without meeting with any misadventure on the way. And as I fancy you will expect me to write to you what I am doing, and how I occupy myself in cultivating and prosecuting my studies, I will in the first place explain this to you, and will then inform you of what is passing here.

'My studies, my dear Scève, become more serious daily. Indeed I can hardly express, and you will with difficulty conceive with what alacrity, inflamed as it were by a new love, I devote myself to literature. I both plan and write many things, as to which however I shall not arouse your expectation until I perceive that I am able to complete them. I send you a dialogue concerning the imitation of Cicero against Erasmus, which you will hand to Gryphius. I shall be under very great obligation to you

if you will see that it is printed as carefully as possible. Do not allow your kindness to me, which has never yet failed, to fail in this instance. The trivial crowd of grammarians who worship Erasmus as a deity, and place him before Cicero, will scarcely refrain from attacks upon me. Moreover I do not doubt that the old man[1] (who is now almost childish with age) will ridicule the young man with his usual and persistent scurrility. But nothing troubles me less than the scurrility of a buffoon, nor do I fear any sharper bite from the toothless old food-for-worms[2]; while as to those who may accuse me of insolence, and may cover me with reproaches because I attack Erasmus, let them in the first place consider in what way they can defend Erasmus himself from the charge of insolence and scurrility in venturing to ridicule Cicero and those who strive to imitate him.

'I spend my evenings in rewriting my *Commentaries on the Latin Language*, which I hope to complete by the beginning of January. The remainder of the winter I shall devote to enlarging my orations and epistles for another edition. I should not promise so many things if I had not determined on this, that for once I would show what it was to be eagerly and studiously devoted to letters, and what it was to undergo labour for the sake of immortality, and would also show that I hated idleness worse than death. . . .

'Yet however much study, labour, and diligence I devote to literature, I refer whatever I compose to your judgment, so that you may order my writings to be suppressed, or may decide that they shall be published, for I am certain that you will neither desire that I should remain for ever unknown, nor, owing to the premature appearance of the

[1] Erasmus was only sixty-seven years of age.
[2] 'Silicernium.'

fruits of my studies, that I should obtain a merely slight reputation rather than one which is firmly fixed. I think it is my duty, whilst my age and the abundance of my leisure allows, to devote myself as vigorously as possible to literature, but only to publish such things as, without flattery, I may understand to be approved as well by the judgment of other learned men as of yourself.

'My great devotion to study forbids me from setting foot out of doors, so completely am I bound to literature. It thus happens that I have not yet visited your friend Æmilius[1]; I have, however, taken care to send him your letter. Nor have I as yet paid my respects to Budé, which may indeed be considered as a great omission on my part. I shall visit him the first opportunity, and to this I shall for a short time postpone my work and my present studies.

'Now you will expect to hear what is doing and what is talked of at Paris. You shall then have all I can tell you. It would be a tedious and difficult task for me to describe the great confusion and excitement in which things are here. In the talk of the vulgar one hears of nothing but the insults offered to Christ by the Lutherans. That foolish sect, led away by a pernicious passion for notoriety, has lately scattered abroad certain reproaches directed against the Christian worship,[2] which have still more vehemently inflamed the hatred under which they had previously been labouring. Many have been cast into prison on suspicion of Lutheran errors, some of them belonging to the dregs of the people, others to the highest

[1] Probably Émile Perrot, who was at this time a councillor of the Parliament of Paris, and was certainly afterwards known to Dolet. Émile Ferret, who was also a councillor of the Parliament, may, however, be the person intended.

[2] The well-known affair of the *placards* occurred in October 1534.

rank of merchants. At these tragedies[1] I play the part of a spectator. I grieve over the situation, and pity the misfortunes of some of the accused, while I laugh at the folly of others in putting their lives in danger by their ridiculous self-will and unbearable obstinacy.

'Write to me as long and as frequent letters as possible, telling me, in the first place, all about yourself, and in the next what is passing at Lyons. Do not omit to tell me who are favourable and who are hostile to me on account of that edition of my *Orations* which has lately been published. I hear that the rage of the Tolosans against me is in no degree allayed, and that they are wickedly striving to do me some mischief. Unless, however, they cease from their attacks they will irritate one who at present is quiet, but whose bite when once excited they will hardly be able to bear, and by the severity of my pen I shall make the fools bitterly repent of their folly.

'I will, however, say but little on these matters, lest the recollection of my enemies should excite my indignation at a time when I am unwilling to be so excited. Salute specially from me your friends the Vauzelles,[2] most culti-

[1] It was only the day after this letter was written that the fifth acts of these tragedies were performed. On the 10th of November 1534, as we learn from the journal of a 'Bourgeois de Paris,' three heretics were committed to the flames in the Place Maubert, Paris, and from that day to the 5th of May 1535, no less than twenty-two persons were there burned for heresy.

[2] 'No one,' says M. Baudrier in his interesting introduction to the *Police Subsidiaire* of Jean de Vauzelles (privately printed for the learned President of the Court of Appeal by Perrin and Marinet in 1875), 'but he who is completely a stranger to the history of our city, can be ignorant of Mathieu, George, and Jean de Vauzelles, the three illustrious brothers, so styled by their contemporaries, who shone each with a different lustre, the first under the robe of a jurisconsult and the mantle of an échevin, the second by arms, and the third in the church and literature.' Notices of the three Vauzelles will be found in Colonia, *Hist. Lit. de Lyon*, ii.

vated of men, and most cordial well-wishers of all men of letters; also our very kind friend Fournier.[1] All these I especially love and hold dear. Farewell. Paris, 9 Nov. 1534.'

It is impossible to defend and difficult to excuse the scurrility with which Dolet in this epistle—afterwards printed as a preface to his *Dialogue*—speaks of the greatest scholar and the foremost man of letters of the age. All

568-575, in Pernetti, *Les Lyonnois dignes de mémoire*, i. 322-328, in two interesting articles by Ludovic de Vauzelles in the *Revue du Lyonnais*, 1870 and 1872, on Mathieu de Vauzelles and Jean de Vauzelles, and in the *Vie de Jacques Comte de Vintimille* by the same author (Orléans, Herluison, 1865). The three brothers were all men of wealth and literary tastes. George, a commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, was especially a liberal patron of men of letters. Jean, Prior of Montrottier, was distinguished by his practical benevolence; and in his *Police Subsidiaire, ou Assistance donnée à la multitude des pauvres*, first printed in 1531, and fortunately rescued from oblivion by the pious care of M. Baudrier, 'we have,' as the editor remarks, 'la première idée de la création de l'Aumône Générale, une des gloires de Lyon, le type des établissements destinés à lutter contre le paupérisme,' and which 'a servi de modèle à tous les autres hôpitaux du royaume, même à l'hôpital général de Paris.'

Voulté has the following epigram on the three brothers :—

Ad tres Vauxellios Fratres.

Tres fratres celeberrimi optimorum ;
Tres vita, et genio, et pares amore ;
Quibus una domus tribus, fidesque
Una est, una eadem tribus voluntas ;
Vos sic vivite semper et valete
Humanis pariter Diisque grati.

Epigrammata (Lugd. 1537), p. 258.

[1] The Fourniers were a family of wealth and position at Lyons in the sixteenth century, distinguished by their love of letters. Hugues Fournier, First President of the Parliament of Dijon, died in 1525; and I imagine that his more celebrated brother Humbert was dead before this time. Probably Dolet's friend was Claude Fournier, author of a Latin ode on the death of the Dauphin inserted in the collection edited by Dolet in 1536. The second wife of Mathieu de Vauzelles was a Fournier, his first a Scève.

that can be said in extenuation is that scurrility of this kind was a common practice of the literary men of the day in writing of their opponents, that we find it in men distinguished for their ability, learning, and virtue, and that, violent as the language of Dolet appears to be, it is far less violent, far less scurrilous, and far less unseemly than that which Julius Cæsar Scaliger used of the same great man, or that which Luther applied to Henry VIII. and his other opponents, whilst it is absolutely moderate in comparison with the language of Filelfo, of Poggio, and of Valla. Nor must we forget the graceful tribute which Dolet afterwards paid to Erasmus when dead, nor his admission that he had used language towards him of too hostile a nature.

The publication of the orations seems to have been against the judgment of Gryphius, who would not allow his name to appear as the printer, and who was resolute against printing a second edition, although pressed to do so both by Dolet and several of his friends. The *Dialogue*, although learned and ingenious, was yet written in so intemperate a style that it could scarcely have been approved by the more prudent among the friends of the author, and Scève and Gryphius showed themselves in no hurry to publish it. On the 31st of December it was still unprinted, and Dolet, in writing from Paris to Jacques Rostagno, sent a message to Scève urging the printing of the *Dialogue*. Whether it actually appeared before its author returned to Lyons we do not know. Certain it is that Dolet had returned, and that the *Dialogue* had been printed, some time before the middle of 1535.

The book is in the form of an imaginary conversation between Sir Thomas More and Simon Villanovanus, which is supposed to take place at Padua during Dolet's residence at that University. The introduction and conclusion,

from which I have already made some extracts, are written with much spirit, and it would be pleasant to think that it might have been possible for Sir Thomas More to have met Dolet and Villanovanus at Padua; but though we know that Sir Thomas More's desires, like those of all other learned men of the day, tended towards a visit to Italy, the accomplishment of his wish was denied to him. More, as the friend of Erasmus, is his defender; and nearly all that is put in his mouth is to be found in the writings of the great scholar. It cannot be said that the *Dialogue* itself is of much worth or interest. Though far less intemperate than the orations of Scaliger, yet, as might be expected from the author, the abuse lavished on Erasmus equals that which all with whom Dolet differed received from his pen.

The publication of the *Dialogue*, whilst it could not but shock the friends and admirers of Erasmus, was treated by the latter with the same silent contempt which had so irritated J. C. Scaliger. Curiously enough he attributed this new attack also to Aleander.[1] He more than once refers to the book. In the letter to Merbelius and Laurentius,[2] already mentioned, he says, 'I have heard that a work has just appeared against me at Lyons. The author is Étienne Dolet. . . . I have not yet seen it, and when I do see it I have no intention of replying to it.'[3]

[1] 'Aleander denuo emisit librum furiosum sub nomine Doleti: quo et Morum quem acceperat esse in carcere ulciscitur; et Villanovanum mendicum mortuum facit imperiosum, Morum timide loquentem.' *Epist.* 1288, written to Goclenius, Sept. 2, 1535. Again he writes to the same on June 28, 1536: 'Suspicor harum molestiarum τεχνίτην esse eum qui Scaligeros, Doletos, Merulas in me subornat. . . . In furioso dialogo Doleti Morus vexatur.' *Epist.* 1299.

[2] March 18, 1535. *Epist.* 1278.

[3] Née de la Rochelle, whose language here as elsewhere is borrowed by M. Boulmier, says the *Dialogue* 'lui (Dolet) valut la haine d'Érasme.'

Melanchthon, while censuring the attack of Dolet, paid it the compliment (which he had not paid to the harangue of Scaliger) of thinking it ought to be answered, if not by Erasmus, at least by some one. He writes to Camerarius in 1535, 'I have seen Dolet's book, and I am thinking of instructing some one to reply to it. Erasmus indeed is not altogether undeserving of the Nemesis which he has met with, but the impudence of this young man displeases me.'[1] Shortly afterwards, writing to another correspondent, he says, 'Have you read that very impudent book of Dolet written against Erasmus? I have taken care that it should be answered.'[2]

The publication of the *Dialogue* considerably increased the reputation of its author for scholarship, and indeed may be said to have introduced his name for the first time to the world of letters. The volume containing the orations was not of general interest, and its circulation, probably to some extent surreptitious, would be confined almost entirely to those persons at Lyons and Toulouse who were specially interested in the details of the author's quarrels. The *Dialogue* obtained a much wider circulation, and whatever its merits or demerits, at least informed men of letters that a new and vigorous aspirant to literary honours had appeared. The subject of the *Dialogue* was not however at the time of its publication of very absorbing interest. Six years had elapsed since the appearance of the *Ciceronianus*. The popularity of the Ciceronians was on the wane. The men of the new learning rightly looked upon Erasmus as their great leader, as one who

There is no evidence to support this statement. The only references made by Erasmus to the *Dialogue* or its author are those which I have quoted.

[1] *Epist. Melanchthonis*, lib. iv. No. 180, p. 732 (edit. of London, 1642, fol.).

[2] *Epistolarum Liber, primus editus* (Leyden, 1647), p. 91.

more than all others had contributed to the promotion, as well of literature generally, as of the study of Greek, and as having by his ridicule and his common-sense greatly contributed to the overthrow of superstition and bigotry; while the quarrel of the Ciceronians and anti-Ciceronians was one with which the opponents of the new learning troubled themselves but little, as being a matter with which they had no concern. But the publication of the *Dialogue*, if it did not obtain for its author all the fame which he hoped for, procured for him the bitter and relentless hatred of Julius Cæsar Scaliger.

We have already seen that messages of civility had been interchanged between Scaliger and Dolet through the intervention of Arnoul Le Ferron, but it seems as if during Dolet's troubled residence at Toulouse the great scholar and critic entertained a somewhat unfriendly feeling towards the young student, and that he had taken the part of Pinache in the matter of the orations. But on the subject of the quarrel of the Ciceronians they were on the same side, both ardent supporters of the purity of the language of Cicero, both bitterly prejudiced against Erasmus. But as we have seen, nearly three years before the appearance of the *Dialogue*, Scaliger had published his *Oratio pro Cicerone contra Erasmum*, a production of even less merit than the *Dialogue* of Dolet, less lively and entertaining, and far more violent in its language. In the opinion of Scaliger, when he had spoken, nothing further was needed, or even allowable. His venom was bitter enough against his adversaries, but what he wrote of them was as it were with a pen dipped in honey compared with the language he used against the presumptuous young man who had dared to think that Erasmus was not completely demolished by his oration, and that anything further could possibly be said in favour of the Ciceronians.

The violent abuse which Scaliger lavished upon the poetry of Dolet induced Naudé[1] first to suspect that the critic must have had some private enmity to the poet, but it was reserved to Bayle to discover the ground of that enmity, and to call attention to a letter written by Scaliger to Arnoul Le Ferron immediately after the appearance of the *Dialogue*, in which Scaliger shows how bitterly wounded his self-love was by its publication.[2] 'I suppose,' he says, 'you have seen Dolet's *Dialogue against Erasmus*, the author of which was not ashamed when my writings were in print, to steal everything from me, by giving my oration another turn and decking it out with his tinsel.[3] There appear the same extravagances as in his orations, a style indeed a little less rough, but for which he is indebted to another, so that his loquacity seems to be supported rather by other people's words collected and raked together than by solid arguments. But you will say he praises Cæsar;[4] he does so; for they say you advised him to consult his reputation by doing so, he having already rashly and

[1] *Dial. de Mascurat.* p. 8.

[2] The greater portion of this letter, as well as the others in abuse of Erasmus, were suppressed by Joseph Scaliger, and did not appear in the collection of his father's letters published in his lifetime, nor in the subsequent editions based on this. Copies however were discovered at Toulouse by the President de Maussac, who published them in 1621. Schelhorn afterwards found copies in the library of Z. C. von Uffenbach, and printed them in his *Amœnitates Literariæ* (vols. 6 and 8), not knowing of Maussac's edition.

[3] This is an utterly groundless charge. The oration of Scaliger and the *Dialogue* of Dolet have really nothing in common,—except abuse of Erasmus; neither the treatment, style, nor matter of Dolet is borrowed from Scaliger.

[4] Dolet had spoken of Scaliger in the following terms: 'Julium Cæsarem Scaligerum tibi hic objicerem, virum Ciceronis lectioni multum deditum, in quo grammaticæ subsidia non desideres, dicendi facultatem laudes.'

foolishly ridiculed the Italian name. You had informed him also that I was preparing a Dialogue wherein I should expose his malicious temper and empty arrogance, his petulance and stupidity, his impropriety and loquacity, his raving expressions and impudence. Having thus soothed me with design to divert me from my purpose, he praised me in such a manner that he seemed unwillingly to follow the judgment of other people rather than express his own. Wherefore I have endeavoured that both he and others may for the future repent of their rage and impudence. I hear he is a corrector of the press at Lyons; and if it be true that he was concerned in correcting the books I bought which were lately printed by Gryphius, our very schoolboys have therein discovered faults for which he deserves a severe whipping. I have reprimanded him in this second oration, not by name indeed, but painted in such colours that he may be known by the very children of Toulouse.'[1]

In this and several other letters, written about the same time to Le Ferron, Scaliger shows himself equally sore and equally violent. We can forgive the great critic for feeling somewhat mortified that a young and unknown man should have thought that his oration needed supplementing, for, as Bayle remarks,[2] 'There are very few authors who like such a procedure; it is looked upon as adopted with a design either of surpassing the first champion or of depriving him of the glory of being the only person who breaks a lance. It is even thought that he who interposes

[1] Scaliger must have struck out of his second oration, possibly at Le Ferron's request, the passages here indicated. In the second oration as printed Dolet is only once referred to, and merely as having imitated Scaliger's first oration. Nicéron (*Mém.* xxi. p. 119) is in error in saying of this second oration, 'Dolet qui en faisoit le principal objet, ne fut point épargné.'

[2] *Dict.* art. Dolet.

in the combat judges the cause as not being well defended, and as standing in need of assistance.' But it is impossible to justify either the violence of Scaliger's language, or the undying hatred which he bore to Dolet during the latter's life, and with which he violated his memory after his death.

The poems of Dolet do not indeed seem to justify the exaggerated admiration which many of his contemporaries, and even those most competent to judge, lavished upon them. The literary men who in the sixteenth century were bound together by the ties of friendship seem to have constituted mutual admiration societies, and whatever was written by one was lauded up to the skies by the rest. But there are certainly some among his poems which, if not equal to the best Latin poetry of the Renaissance, to that of Vida, Sannazar, or Paleario, are devoid neither of beauty of thought nor elegance of language; and no one will find fault with Gruter for inserting several of them among the *Delitiæ poetarum Gallorum*, whilst of those he has omitted, there are not a few which are superior to the poems of several authors who are included in his collection. The ode on the death of Simon Villanovanus is alone sufficient to show how absolutely unfair and unreasoning is the criticism of Scaliger contained in the following passage, written, it pains one to remember, after the flames had consumed the body of Dolet, and when all purely literary enmities should have become extinct. But the violence of Scaliger increases to brutality as he insults the memory and gloats over the fate of the unfortunate poet. 'Dolet may be called the canker or ulcer (*carcinoma aut vomica*) of the Muses. For besides that in so great a body, as Catullus says,[1] there is not a grain of wit, fool as he is, he sets up for a tyrant in poetry. He has according to his

[1] Nulla in tam magno est corpore mica salis.—Catullus.

own fancy set Virgil's pearls in his own resin in such a manner that he would have them pass for his. A wretched prater, who out of scraps of Cicero has patched up certain wild *orations* as he calls them, but which the learned judge to be *latrations*. He imagined he had as good a right to make free with the divine works of Virgil. So while he was singing the fate of that good and great king Francis, his name met with its own evil fate, and the Atheist alone suffered the punishment of the flames which both he and his verses deserved. Yet the flames did not purify him, but he rather sullied them. Why should I speak of the filth which is to be found in the common sink or sewer of his Epigrams? They are dull, cold, and witless, and full of that arrogant madness which, being armed with the most consummate impudence, would not even confess the being of a God. Wherefore as the greatest of philosophers, Aristotle, in discoursing of the nature of animals, first describes the several parts of which they are composed, and then takes notice even of their excrements, so let his name be read here, not as that of a poet, but of a poetical excrement.'[1]

Scaliger's judgment on the style of the orations as being patched up out of scraps of Cicero is not altogether unjust; both the orations and epistles are to a great extent made up of expressions and portions of sentences borrowed from Cicero, so as to form a sort of cento. But his criticism upon the odes of Dolet is equally if not more applicable to his own compositions. Whatever defects are to be found in the poems of Dolet are still more conspicuous in those of Scaliger himself; and the judgment of the Bishop of Avranches will be concurred in by every one who has read them. 'With all the merit which he (J. C. Scaliger) really had,' writes Huet, 'and with all that he believed

[1] *Poetices*, lib. vi. (*Hypercriticus*).

he had, he has clearly shown in his *Hypercriticus*, by the false judgments which he has there delivered, that he had no delicacy of taste. . . . He has shown it still better by the brutish and formless poems with which he has dishonoured Parnassus.'[1] 'Julius Cæsar Scaliger was in truth a man of a vast and elevated spirit, but of the very worst taste in poetry. Even if one had not read his *Hypercriticus*, so full of false views, so much more occupied in judging the details of single lines and in correcting minute points, even changing them from bad to worse, than in bringing a sound judgment to bear on complete works, could one ever submit oneself to the decision of a man who has given to the world so much bad verse?'[2] Maittaire, who quotes this passage, remarks,[3] 'Far from disapproving the criticism of Huet, I think it perfectly just, for how can we believe that he could be a competent judge of literary style who is incapable himself of good writing? yet no creatures are more commonly met with than critics who, wanting in all decency of manners, full of nothing but pedantry, with the utmost effrontery would submit all writers to their audacious ferule, while they themselves are most notorious for their awkwardness and ruggedness of style.' 'There is hardly a more wretched book,' remarks Ménage of the Latin poems of Julius Cæsar Scaliger; 'we can hardly find four or five epigrams which can pass muster.'[4]

But the violence and intemperance of Dolet's *Dialogue* not only offended the admirers of Erasmus, but were a source of regret to the author's own friends, and to none more than the sensible and moderate Jean de Boyssone, who was now fully restored to his position as a professor of law in the University of Toulouse. In the year 1535 his reputation was greatly increased by a public discussion with

[1] *Huetiana*, c. 5.
[2] *Ibid.* c. 35.
[3] *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 16.
[4] *Menagiana*, ii. 275.

Ambrose Catharin,[1] in which he maintained with signal success and ability, that the cultivation of literature was not only no hindrance, but even an assistance to legal studies. In a letter to Dolet, written shortly before the end of August in that year, after giving an account of the discussion, and making some remarks on Dolet's expected *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, he thus proceeds :[2] 'As to what is thought here of your dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*, though you will no doubt have heard everything from others before this, yet I must tell you that the bitterness of your style, which you once promised me you would discontinue, has produced a bad effect upon many, because (as they say) you ought not to have attacked so violently an old man who has rendered such great services to literature. The rumour is that the Germans are preparing a vigorous attack upon you in order to avenge the wounded dignity of Erasmus. Whatever happens I trust you will not be disturbed by these matters, but will continue, as is your wont, to show an unshaken firmness of mind. This only I would beg of you, that you would so accommodate yourself to the time as that it should not seem inevitable for you to offend the good and pious. When I ask this of you, you will understand what I mean. But more of this presently when we meet, for I am thinking of going to Lyons if the king should come there. If you wish to know what is going on here I will now tell you. Six French students are in danger of capital punishment ; indeed they would already have been condemned to the gallows, had not Minut, who is the devoted friend not only of the French but of all the really studious, by great prudence prevented it.

[1] See A. Touron, *Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique* (6 vols. Paris, 1747), iv. p. 133.

[2] MS. Correspondence of Jean de Boyssone in the Toulouse library, fol. xvii. The interest which the *Dialogue* excited is further shown by a letter in the same volume, fol. vi. from Castellanus to Boyssone, asking for the loan of the book.

I know not by what evil fate it happens that Toulouse is always persecuting the studious. Yet owing to this very persecution their names are rendered so much the more illustrious. If they should after all be punished with death, I could not bear to see it, but should betake myself somewhere or other so as not to be a witness. But enough of these matters, which cause me the deepest grief whenever they recur to my mind.

'The Queen of Navarre was at Toulouse lately for some days. It was really wonderful how kindly she received me, although I had never before been personally known to her. She very earnestly pressed me to reside at Bourges, and I have not decided whether I shall not at some time do so. Farewell.'

Dolet replied to this letter on the 31st of August:[1] 'What you designate as the excessive severity of my *Dialogue* I have determined not to excuse to you at great length. I will excuse it, or rather defend it, with all my might against those who undertake the cause of Erasmus. You will scarcely believe how little account I make of the attack of that young German fellow,[2] an attack which I attribute to

[1] MS. Correspondence of Boyssone in the Toulouse library, fol. i.

[2] I have been unable to discover who the young German was who took up the defence of Erasmus against Dolet. I am acquainted with no book printed before the end of 1536 that refers to the *Dialogue*. It is curious to observe that Melanchthon's letter, in which he says, 'cogito de aliquo instruendo qui respondeat,' is dated November 1535, whilst this letter of Dolet (though only dated August 31) is clearly written in 1535, and therefore before Melanchthon had carried out his design. M. Guibal indeed, who quotes this letter (*Revue de Toulouse*, 1864, p. 97), suggests that Latomus (Masson), then a professor at Paris, was the person referred to. But, besides that Latomus was then fifty years of age, and could hardly be called by Dolet 'juvenis Germanus,' he was a professed and bitter enemy of Erasmus. M. Guibal seems to have confused this young German with 'quidam Germanus grammaticus publicus Lutetiæ prælector' to whom Dolet refers in the second volume of his *Commentaries*, 636, as having found fault with a passage in the first volume, and who may very

the influence of wine and intoxication, or perhaps indeed to a childish ostentation of German garrulity and a love of chattering. I know what the fellow's strength is, excessive in relation to wine and women, but in respect to other matters weak and feeble. But I would have any one who defends Erasmus against me to know that I shall not write against *him*, but against Erasmus. I am however about to treat of the whole matter in four orations and two books of iambics.

'As to the one thing you specially ask of me, namely, that I should so accommodate myself to the time as that it should not seem inevitable for me to offend the good and pious, this only is wanting, that I should understand what you mean, for I am so far from understanding it, that I have not even anything from which to form a conjecture. But we can talk of this matter hereafter when we meet, as you are thinking of coming to Lyons.

'I am extremely grieved at the mischance of the French students, who have fallen into such great danger of their lives at Toulouse. But why does not every sane man fly from such barbarians? Who unless he is out of his mind would pass his life among them? If the French students would only take my advice, they would pursue their studies in a French University, and would avoid the barbarism and brutality of Toulouse.

possibly be Latomus. The *Dialogue* of Dolet was severely attacked by Menapius in his funeral oration on the death of Erasmus in 1537 (*Op. Eras.* v. 10), and still more severely and in more detail by Franciscus Floridus Sabinus in his *Lectiones Succisivæ* (Basle, 1540). I know of no other answer to it. Though Melanchthon wrote shortly afterwards *Curavi ut respondeatur*, it seems probable that the answer never appeared. A certain Joannes Gigas published at Wittenberg, in 1540, a volume of Latin verse containing several bitter epigrams upon Dolet. One of them thus begins :—

Quid laceras magnum divinum munus Erasmum,
Quid laceras summos fœde Dolete viros?

'But let me pass to more agreeable topics. I am delighted to hear that you have been received by the Queen of Navarre in so gracious and cordial a manner, and since she wishes you to remove to Bourges, I conjure you by that close friendship which exists between us do not show yourself churlish to fortune, who now recalls you to your former dignity and seeks to make reparation for the injuries which she has heretofore inflicted on you; fly into France, whose cultivated civilisation is known to you, while the barbarism of Toulouse is unknown to no one. I conjure you, my dear Boyssone, if your arrangements will allow of this, listen to the friendly advice of your friend, devote yourself to Gallic culture; sometime you will become excessively weary of living in anxiety amongst the barbarians, especially when you have finished the Commentary which you are writing on that chapter of Ulpian. Farewell. Lyons, 31st August (1535).'

A few weeks later, and after the receipt of a further letter from Boyssone,[1] Dolet again writes to him:[2]—

'You plead the want of leisure as an excuse for writing to me both less often and more briefly than you otherwise would. But how much leisure do you think I possess, who am the slave both of the public and (as he himself says) of Scève?[3] But what is there that I would not neglect for your sake, for to you I am more wholly devoted than either to the public or to Scève. But what leisure I can snatch from business I had best devote to those matters which you may be desirous of having information about. The rumour, which had almost worn itself out, that the

[1] This letter is not in the MS., but is only referred to in Dolet's letter of October 6.

[2] MS. fol. i.

[3] This seems to refer to his (Dolet's) duties as a corrector or sub-editor for Gryphius under Guillaume Scève.

king was coming to Lyons has revived, and it is everywhere and constantly repeated that he is about to come. If this happens we shall, as you lately wrote to me, be able to talk of many things face to face. The book of Ulric Zazius, *De Feudis*,[1] is here offered for sale. A furious partizan of Erasmus[2] has brought it here, and if you have a mind to possess it or any others, I shall not fail to give all diligence so that you may receive them as speedily as possible. From Erasmus himself there has also appeared a short answer to the Roman P. Curtius; I have sent you both the attack and defence.[3] As yet the old Dutchman

[1] The first edition of the book of Zazius here referred to, *Udalrici Zazii, In usus feodorum epitome . . . ejusdem orationes aliquot disertæ* (Basileæ, apud Bebelium, MDXXXV), had only just appeared. The preface is dated '1535, Id. Junii.'

[2] Probably J. A. Odonus.

[3] The two books referred to are *Petri Cursii Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmum Roterodamum* (Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum, MDXXXV) and *Des. Erasmi. Rot. Responsio ad Petrii Cursii defensionem* (Basileæ, in officina Frobeniana, MDXXXV). Erasmus in his *Adages*, under *Myconius Calvus*, had said that these words were an ironical expression, as if one should say *learned as a Scythian*, *warlike as an Italian* (Italum bellacem). The tract of Cursius is directed against this, and extols the valour of the Italians as far greater than that of the Germans. Erasmus, in his *Responsio*, says that he used *bellacem* in a bad sense, not for a man of valour, but for one who had a rage for fighting. The *Responsio* proves the spuriousness of the letter attributed to Erasmus (*Epist.* 1276) addressed to Cursius, and accepted as genuine by Bayle (*Dict.: Hongrie, Marie, Reine de*, Note H), and Heuman (*Parerga Critica*, p. 56), in which Erasmus is made to say that *Italum* is an error of the press, that he had written *Attalum* bellacem, and that in future editions it should be corrected. In this letter occurs the excellent story so often repeated, but which one regrets to be obliged to admit is only *ben trovato*, of the malicious printer's error. A workman to whom he had omitted to give a present determined to be revenged in the next book of Erasmus, which he printed. 'Cum enim in Vidua mea, quam serenissimæ Hungariæ reginæ dedicaveram ad laudem cujusdam sanctissimæ fœminæ, inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba subjunxi: "Atque mente illa usam eam semper fuisse, quæ talem fœminam deceret." Unde scelestus ille animadvertens sibi vindictæ

has attempted nothing against Dolet. I look round about me in good spirits. Whether I am well prepared the issue of the battle will show, when the time comes for us to join hand to hand in fight. Farewell. Lyons, Oct. 6 (1535).'

Among the correspondents of Gilbert Cousin of Nozeray, better known by his Latinised name of *Cognatus*, the secretary of Erasmus,[1] is a certain Joannes Angelus Odonus, an

occasionem oblatam esse, ex *mente illa*, *mentula* fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impressa.' *Ep.* 1276.

[1] I may here note by the way, that M. L. M. A. Dupetit-Thouars, more eminent as a botanist than as a biographer or literary historian, has invented and devoted a short article in the *Biographie Universelle* to an imaginary Gilbert *Cagnati*, whom he describes as an Italian author born at Nocera in the kingdom of Naples, who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was the author of the treatise *De Hortorum laudibus* (Basle, 1546), afterwards printed and inserted by Joachim Camerarius II. in his collection of treatises *De re rustica*. In fact however the treatise *De Hortorum laudibus* is one of the works of Gilbert Cousin. At the end of the book of Camerarius, *Opuscula quædam de re rustica partim collecta partim composita a Joachim Camerario* (Noribergæ, 1596), is a list of authors and treatises *de re rustica*, among which is *Gilberti Cognati Nozareni De Hortorum laudibus*, Basileæ apud Oporinum, 1546. The work itself however is not inserted in the *Opuscula* of Camerarius. M. Dupetit-Thouars clearly knew nothing of the book or its author, but having copied the title from the book of Camerarius, and never having heard either of Gilbert Cognatus or of Nozeray in Burgundy, and knowing there was a town of the name of Nocera in Naples, he made an unsuccessful guess, and then amplified an imaginary fact into a detailed biography. Of course Dr. Hoefer in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, as was his wont in the case of the less important names, simply pitchforked M. Dupetit-Thouars' article into his work, adding however (as was also his wont, in order to suggest independent research) imaginary authorities to the imaginary biography. The authorities cited in the *Biog. Gén.* for the notice of Gilbert Cagnati are *not* the *Biog. Universelle*, but *Biographie Médicale* and Eloy, *Dict. de Médicine*, neither of which works contains any mention of Gilbert Cagnati, or indeed of Gilbert Cousin or Cognatus.

On the subject of the *Biographie Universelle* and the *Biographie Générale*, see an article in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1884.

Italian settled at Strasburg, where he would seem to have held some office in the University, a devout worshipper of Erasmus, from whom, as he tells his correspondent with much pride, he had on one occasion received a letter signed with the great scholar's own hand. I have been unable to find any notice of him or to obtain any other information than is to be found in his letters to Cousin.[1] Possibly he may have been of the same family as Caterina Odoni, the wife of Paulo Manuzio. The longest, and the most interesting in every respect, of his letters is one on the subject of Dolet and his attack on Erasmus; and, although marked by a spirit of the bitterest dislike and the greatest unfairness to our hero, it yet gives us the only description which we have of his personal appearance and manners, written (as Odonus happily does not aim at Ciceronian elegance) in a most racy and graphic manner.[2]

'Joannes Angelus Odonus to Gilbertus Cognatus, his friend and very dear brother

'I have just heard that it has been written from hence that the friends of Erasmus here wish that he should briefly reply to the rage and fury of that very mad fellow (Dolet), which those who have heard so great a croaking think is

[1] Erasmus refers to him in a letter to G. Cousin (No. 1296, p. 1519): 'Epistolam Odoni ac Philenii cupide legi, ad te quidem scriptam sed de me totam.'

[2] M. Boulmier, who tells us in his Preface that we are not to look for an impartial history from him, and who either omits or slurs over whatever is unfavourable to the client, of whom he admits himself to be the advocate, has only referred to the letter of Odonus to quote a remark on the age of Dolet and to describe the letter as unfriendly to him. Following as usual Née de la Rochelle, he says this letter has been preserved to us by Nicéron. This letter is to be found in *Opera G. Cognati*, Basle, 1562, vol. i. p. 313, but is *quoted*, neither quite fully nor quite accurately, by Nicéron, vol. xxi. p. 114.

the roaring of some great animal (as the fable of the Lion and the Frog has it). But I who when at Lyons both saw the man (or rather the mindless thing in human form) and talked with him, know him to be a worthless beast. He somewhere calls himself a young man, but he is nearer to his fortieth than to his thirty-eighth year. He is bald to the middle of his senseless head. He wore a short Spanish jacket, coarse and much worn, scarcely covering his buttocks. His countenance is of such a funereal and black pallor, and has such a wretched air, that you would fancy an avenging fury had fastened on his breast and was dragging him to the punishment of the wheel. You will ask who introduced me to this portentous spectacle. It was that other precious Ciceronian,[1] that despiser of the Greek language and studies, who has published those dialogues *Cicero Revocatus* and *Cicero Relegatus*. He indeed is banished from, but is not yet recalled to, Italy; where (though his native country) not only did he fear to be recognised, but was so conscious of his own deserts that he even suppressed his name on the title-page. I was however on terms of great intimacy with him at Bologna. At Lyons he repeated this saying to me, "Let others choose other masters, I approve only of Christ and of Tully; Christ and Tully are sufficient for me." I saw nothing of Christ however in his hands or in his books; God knows whether he had anything in his heart. This however I know from his own mouth, that when he fled into France he brought with him as a consolation in the wretchedness of his journey neither the Old nor the New Testament, but only the Familiar Epistles of Cicero. Both the circumstances of this fellow, which are worthy of his life (yet the Phrygian has not yet undergone the stripes of God calling

[1] Hortensio Lando.

him to repentance ;[1] oh, that he might at length feel them), and his levity, his effeminacy, and his irreligious conduct, I should have briefly described to you were it not that we know that all these apes of Cicero are characterised by the same depravity and impudence. This fellow took me to the bird of ill-omen. Outside his chamber there was a good deal of noise and untidiness, caused, as I suppose, by boys learning the rudiments of grammar. (By this means as you know banished tyrants are accustomed to earn their living.) Inside, I do not remember what books the exile had. In the course of conversation he referred to a passage in his orations where he speaks of Erasmus, and as it seemed not so bitterly. And this passage he wished to be recited by Hortensio, lest I should be shocked with his (Dolet's) Gallic pronunciation ; nor was there any mention made of the rabid dialogue which he was about to publish. He earnestly begged Lando however to write a preface to his orations, and offered to dedicate them to whomsoever he (Lando) wished ; but the latter declined the proposal. Nor did Gryphius appear willing to undertake the publication of them ; indeed he complained to me of the vehement and unreasonable pressure which certain persons had put upon him to induce him to print them. Then as we were going away he offered me the poisonous trash of Carvaialus[2] and Scaliger, which I had not seen in Italy. No doubt with books of this kind the wretch consoles himself for his

[1] 'Utrum igitur nostrum est, an vestrum, hoc proverbium *Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem*.' Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 27.

[2] Ludovicus Carvaialus (Caravajal), a Minorite, wrote against Erasmus, in defence of the monks, *Apologia monasticæ professionis*, Antwerp, MDXXIX. Reprinted at Basle the same year. Erasmus replied to him by his *Responsio adversus Febricitantis cujusdem Libellum*, Basle, 1529. This produced a rejoinder from Carvaialus, entitled *Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Erasmicæ responsionis ad apologiam fratris Ludovici Carvaiali*, Paris, Colinæus, 1530.

banishment from Toulouse, and again inflames his mind, worn out as it must be by his quarrels. The next day I returned both books to him with certain pages turned down, and we had some conversation concerning the king and the theatre of Giulio Camillo.

'Now, my dear Gilbert, I see no reason why this fool should be answered according to his folly. Perhaps I am in error; but, as Alciat writes, he is still more in error who has so mean an opinion of the majesty of the name of Erasmus and of the veneration which men of letters have for him as to think he could ever be cast down from that citadel of learning and virtue, where he has for so long been established, by the calumnies and insolence of a fellow of this kind. He is no jester, to amuse one with his writings while making a great profession of piety, like Amsdorf; he has not the title of knight or count or monk; he is indeed scarcely human in his appearance. Moreover we do not know whether the University and Parliament of Paris have not taken care that he shall be capitally punished by law at Paris. For as it often happens to these atheists, when they are specially rejoicing and saying (as it is written in the epistle), Peace, peace, let us eat and drink, then suddenly they are overwhelmed with a deserved destruction.

'Perhaps, however, friends from Paris may have sent you a more full account of the wickedness of this hornet or chameleon, who bawls out to the very breaking of his jaws, and, for the sake of a slight breath of applause, is rushing to certain destruction both of body and soul. Yet who could ever carve in stone or paint in colours a better representation of a foolish, senseless, insane, furious, rabid, boastful, insolent, scurrilous, petulant, vain, lying, impudent, arrogant, impious[1] fellow, without God, without faith, without religion, than

[1] 'Stulti, vecordis, insani, furiosi, rabiosi, gloriosi, procacis, maledici, petulantis, vani, mendacis, impudentis, arrogantis, impii.'

this man has by his own words shown and expressed himself to be? To me he seems to be of the number of those whom St. Augustine and Erasmus himself order us to laugh at when they weep, and to weep over when they laugh, both which I certainly did when I read his book. It has indeed been a matter of great grief to me that a man should be found so well versed and baptized (so to speak) in polite letters, and yet of such brutality and impiety. God is my witness, my dear Gilbert, that not forwardness but affection has induced me to write these things to you.

'And now let me stop in the middle of my course, lest if I say more I may seem to wish to be wise overmuch. For even on this matter I do not profess to see all sides. Therefore whether Erasmus thinks fit to reply to Dolet, or thinks it not worth his while to do so, I shall be satisfied. For whatever he thinks right I doubt not will really be so. So now I will conclude, commending both you and Erasmus to God. Strasburg, 29th Oct. 1535.'

Notwithstanding the unfriendly tone of this letter it enables us to see Dolet as he really was, worn with study and hardship, so that, though he was only twenty-seven years of age, Odonus judged him to be near forty. Mean and squalid in his dress, unattractive in his countenance, full of enthusiasm for learning, and above all for Cicero, filled at the same time with vanity and conceit, and believing that his worthless orations were really deserving the attention of the world, caring only for study and literary fame; such is the impression which the letter of Odonus makes upon us.

CHAPTER XI

The 'Commentaries'

'Liber est lumen cordis, speculum corporis, virtutum magister, vitiorum depulsor, corona prudentium, diadema sapientium, gloria honorum, decus eruditorum, comes itineris, domesticus amicus, collocutor et congerro tacentis, collega et consiliarius præsidentis, vas plenum sapientiæ, myrothecium eloquentiæ, hortus plenus fructibus, pratum floribus distinctum, memoriæ penus, vita recordationis.'—Lucas de Penna.

HE principal object of Dolet's journey to Paris at the end of the year 1534 was to obtain the royal sanction for the publication of his *Commentaries*, which had now, after ten years of labour, approached at least a partial completion. But the moment was unfavourable for obtaining permission to print any original work, even one merely devoted to Latin literature. The father of letters, as the French are fond of styling Francis I., although he had unquestionably a genuine love for literature and literary men, and though the influence of his beloved sister, La Marguerite des Marguerites, induced him at times to lend a not un-

willing ear to the teaching of the religious reformers, yet, alternating between fits of vicious indulgence and of religious remorse, allowed himself to be the tool and prey of the bigots who surrounded him, and who persuaded him that the salvation of his own soul required the destruction of the bodies of those whom, had he followed his own tastes, he would have especially desired to protect and encourage. Really caring at all times in his heart for literature and intellectual progress, and sometimes even for a reformation in religion, yet, as M. Henri Martin has remarked,[1] he allowed the Reformation to be burned in the person of Berquin, and the Renaissance in that of Dolet. Physically brave, he was yet morally a coward, and dared not call his soul his own in the presence of the priests. He was at this time in one of those fits of piety in which he sought to make amends for his vices by the persecution of heretics and the suppression of literature. At the moment when Dolet arrived in Paris the Doctors of the Sorbonne were urging him to suppress absolutely, so far as an edict could do so, the art of printing, to forbid the printing, not only of heretical books, but of any books whatever, and, incredible as it may appear, they actually accomplished their purpose. It was as early as the 7th of June 1533 that the Sorbonne, then under the influence of Béda, presented to the King at Lyons a memorial against heretical books, in which it was formally urged that if the King wished to preserve the Catholic faith, which was already shaken at its base and attacked on all parts, he must abolish once and for ever by a severe edict the art of printing, which every day gave birth to dangerous books. For some time the influence of Budé, and Jean du Bellay then Bishop of Paris, succeeded in inducing the King to refuse to grant this petition ; but in October 1534 the indiscretions of some members of the Reform

[1] *Hist. de France*, vol. viii. p. 343.

party in affixing on the walls of the streets of Paris, and even on the gates of the royal palace, placards violently and indecently attacking the mass and the clergy, gave their enemies a handle, of which the latter were not slow to avail themselves. The affair of the placards gave rise to just indignation among the Catholics, and to a more severe persecution of heresy and heretics than Paris had as yet witnessed. Dolet refers to it in the letter to G. Scève already quoted. From the 10th of November 1534 to the 5th of May 1535 twenty-two persons were burned for heresy in the Place Maubert, and if we believe that Sleidan is in error in stating that the King and his Court were present at the most horrible of these spectacles, where six persons were committed to the flames, and where the *strappado*[1] seems to have been employed for the first time, the fact remains that not only were these burnings with his sanction, but that the same sanction must have been given to the frightful tortures which accompanied them, and which, had they not been the invention of Christian priests, we should have thought only fiends could have invented or applied.

[1] The strappado was a kind of see-saw, with a heretic at one end suspended above a fire. He was allowed to descend and burn for a short time, and was then drawn out again, and so on from time to time. By this means the burning lasted much longer, the torment was much more exquisite to the heretic, and the spectacle much more grateful to the pious spectators. Though Sleidan and Beza state positively that the King was present and lighted the fire on this occasion, and though the fact of his presence has been gloried in by orthodox historians, yet M. Martin has pointed out (*Hist. de France*, vol. viii.) that the Bourgeois de Paris, who was present, and who notes the details of all the executions most precisely, says nothing of the King's presence, which he would hardly have failed to notice had Francis really attended and lighted the fire. Père Daniel, writing so late as the eighteenth century (*Hist. de France*), exults in the King's display of piety in being present and lighting the fire on this occasion. 'Francis,' he says, 'in order to draw down the blessing of Heaven on his arms, wished to give this signal proof of his piety and zeal against the new doctrine.'

It might perhaps have been expected that the Sorbonne, now that Béda had fallen into disgrace, would have been under better influence, and would no longer have desired the destruction of that art of which it ought to have been the protector and promoter; but this was not the case: it was again urged upon the King that printing was the source of all heresy, and on the 13th of January 1535 letters patent were issued by which the King prohibited and forbad under pain of death any person from thenceforth printing any book or books in France, and at the same time ordered all booksellers' shops to be closed under the same penalty.

The Parliament, notwithstanding that it was presided over by Pierre Lizet, protested against this edict, and refused, unless absolutely compelled, to ratify or register it. Its remonstrances, supported by those of Budé and Du Bellay, were successful, and on the 24th of February in the same year new letters patent were issued by the King suspending the operation of the former, and directing the Parliament to choose twenty-four well-qualified and prudent persons, out of whom the King should select twelve, to whom alone permission was to be given to print in Paris editions of needful and approved books, but forbidding even the twelve to print any new composition under pain of death. It would seem that the Parliament again remonstrated, and that these letters patent were never formally ratified. They were however inscribed in the register entitled *Conseil*, from whence they have been for the first time disinterred during the present century.[1] That such an edict had been threatened,

[1] We only know of the letters of January 13 by a recital of them in those of February 24. These latter were first discovered by M. Taillandier, and afterwards printed by him in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, tom. xiii. They had before appeared in Crapelet's *Études sur la Typographie*, 34, a copy having been communicated by M. Taillandier to M. Crapelet. They will also be found in A. F. Didot's *Essai sur la Typographie*, 760; and in Werdet's *Histoire du Livre*, ii. 75.

though mentioned by Dolet himself in his *Commentaries*, had previously received but little notice. 'I cannot,' he says, 'pass over in silence the wickedness of those wretches who, planning destruction as well to literature as to men of letters, thought in our time of destroying and putting an end to the exercise of the art of printing. Thought, do I say? Who actually used all their influence with the King of France, Francis of Valois himself, the guardian, the supporter, the most loving promoter of literature and of men of letters, to obtain a decree for its suppression. They used this pretext, that literature was the means of propagating the Lutheran heresy, and that to this, typography was made subservient. Ridiculous race of fools! As if arms were by themselves evil or destructive, and as if, because wounds and even death are inflicted by them, the use of those arms by which the good defend both themselves and their country from attacks ought to be suppressed; it is only the wicked who use them for unjust purposes. So if there are those who foolishly over-curious or factious, disseminate some error or other by means of the press, who is there who by reason of their fault, would say that printing ought to be suppressed; printing, which is of itself not in the least pernicious, and is more essential than anything else for celebrating the glory and reputation of men?

'This most abominable and wicked plot of the sophists and topers of the Sorbonne was brought to nought by the wisdom and prudence of Guillaume Budé, the light of his age, and Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, a man equally distinguished by his rank and by his worth.'[1]

Dolet, however, as well as all other writers, was ignorant that such an edict had actually been issued by 'the guardian, the supporter, the most loving protector of literature,' an edict which justly entitles Francis I., as M. Crapelet says, to

[1] *Com.* i. 266.

the name of *proscriber* rather than of *promoter* of literature. But although neither of these edicts was ever actually enforced, no permission could be obtained at this time for printing the *Commentaries*. Dolet was not indeed without influential friends to urge his suit. From Budé he would receive, we are sure, every assistance and support; Breslay held high office in the great Council, and, as well as Nicolas Bérauld, Dolet's old master, would also give his assistance; but it was for the present of no avail, persecution, not promotion of literature, was now the order of the day. Dolet was already suspected, as the letters of Odonus and of Scaliger show us, of being, if not a heretic, what was almost as bad—an atheist. He was known to be the friend and favourer of suspected heretics, and the imprudent and abusive language as to Béda contained in his printed letters could not have been other than offensive, and justly offensive, to the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Besides, as the letter of Odonus seems to imply, Dolet's enemies at Toulouse were at this very time urging the registration by the Parliament of Paris of the decree of banishment issued by that of Toulouse; and if they were not successful in this, at least they carried the day so far as to cause the permission for the printing of the *Commentaries* to be refused.

'No one,' wrote Jean Voulté a few months later in a dedication of his *Epigrams* to the Cardinal of Lorraine,[1] '(to declare my opinion ingenuously), is so great an enemy to the French name as a Frenchman. This has been experienced by many, and lately by Étienne Dolet of Orléans, who has done great service to the Latin tongue (to say no more) even in his youth; and what may not be expected in the future part of his life from a person born with so excellent a genius, of such unwearied diligence and application, and aspiring with such alacrity of mind to immortal fame? This

[1] Printed by Gryphius in 1536.

person, I say, who is the ornament of the age, and will be the eternal glory of France, has experienced the severest strokes of envy, for when he designed to publish his *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* (a work of immense labour and exact judgment, and hardly to be expected from so young a man), for the public use of all lovers of that language, he found none to oppose him more violently than those from whom he had just reason to expect the most grateful return for his labour. But may such pests of the republic of letters continue to flourish, for when they endeavour to prejudice the rising glory of learned men, they really contribute most effectually to establish it.'

Dolet returned to Lyons early in 1535, probably before the publication of the *Dialogue*, which it would be his first business to see through the press. The two years which followed (1535 and 1536) were two of the most peaceful and presumably happiest of his life. It was not in his nature to live without wrangling and disputes, and the abuse which he received for his Ciceronian *Dialogue* would hardly do more than add zest to his life. His time was passed in revising and superintending through the press the first volume of his great work, in private study, in editing and correcting for the press of Gryphius,[1] and, as would seem

[1] After examining in vain about eighty volumes, mostly editions of Latin classics, printed by Sebastian Gryphius, 1535–38, in hopes of detecting the hand of Dolet as the editor, I at length met with an edition of the *Orations* of Cicero bearing date 1536, in the dedication or preface of which, addressed to Cardinal du Bellay, and purporting to be by Gryphius, I at once recognised the style of Dolet. A long passage I found to be identical with one in his *Commentaries* (i. 266), and this is followed by a Latin ode *ad eundem* which afterwards appeared in the *Carmina* of Dolet, addressed to Francis I. (The dedication is dated January 1536, which would probably be 1537 new style.) Née de la Rochelle (*Vie de Dolet*, p. 33) denies that Dolet was ever employed by Gryphius as a corrector of the press. He considers that he corrected the edition of the works of Marot given by Gryphius in 1538, merely out of friendship for the

from the letter of Odonus (which I take to refer to the period immediately following Dolet's return to Lyons), in teaching. Besides the letter of Odonus we are fortunate in having a contemporary notice of him at this time from Hubert Sussanneau, who, like himself, was at this time editing and correcting for Gryphius, and who at a later period became hostile to Dolet. In the prefatory letter which precedes his *Dictionarium Ciceronianum* (Paris, Colinæus, 1536), he thus writes: 'On my way to Italy I stayed for some time at Lyons, where Sebastian Gryphius persuaded me to superintend the correction of some works of Cicero, Horace, and St. Cyprian. Dolet was then living with that printer. All that I can say of the ability and the learning of that young man is, that in him nature surpasses art; and that though still very young, he is, if I may venture to say so, borne on a triumphal car in the midst of the applause of all. Attached from infancy to the reading of Cicero, he was then composing his *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, which, by the admiration they have caused me, have almost made me abandon my own work.'

The completion of the first volume of the *Commentaries*

author. The passage from Sussanneau quoted in the text is relied on by Née de la Rochelle as evidence that Dolet was *not* so employed. He says, 'Would Gryphius, living with Dolet, have charged Sussanneau with the correction of the works of Cicero, whilst he had at hand a friend so well versed in that author?' To my mind Sussanneau's words are a strong confirmation of the statement of Scaliger in the letter to Le Ferron (*ante*, p. 214). Guillaume Scève seems to have acted at this time as the literary manager or editor of the press of Gryphius. The language of Dolet's letter to Boyssone (*ante*, p. 221), 'I, who am the slave both of the public and of Scève,' is at once explained, if we believe the writer to have been at that time correcting for the press or editing under the superintendence of Scève. But Voulté's ode, *Ad Libellum*, is still more conclusive on the point:—

I, fuge Lugdunum sine me liber, i, fuge in urbem,
Excipiet prompta Gryphius ille manu.
Te castigandum docto dabit inde Doleto.

was his first care. In transcribing and correcting this he received considerable assistance from one of the greatest names in the French literature of the sixteenth century, one of the few contemporaries of Dolet whose works are still read with pleasure—the author of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, Jean Bonaventure Desperiers. Known, or at least suspected, as a friend of intellectual progress and freedom of thought, the influence of Marguerite de Valois, to whom he held the office of *valet de chambre*, was able to protect him so long as he did not compromise himself by any overt act. But the publication of the *Cymbalum Mundi* in 1537–8 gave the Sorbonne and the Parliament (or rather the First President) a weapon of attack of which they were not loth to avail themselves. In these lively and satirical dialogues, professing only to deal with the pagan deities, it was not difficult to discover the undercurrent of sarcasm intended for the Christian theology. The Sorbonne declared the book to be filled with blasphemies and impieties. The Parliament, at the instigation of the First President, Pierre Lizet, imprisoned Jean Morin the printer, and caused all the copies of the book which could be found to be burned, an auto-da-fe which was so successfully performed that only a single copy of the original edition is known to exist.[1]

So soon as the first volume of the *Commentaries* was completed and transcribed, Dolet began to print it in order that it might be ready to appear whenever the royal licence should be granted. A large folio volume containing seventeen hundred and eight columns of closely-printed matter could not be passed through the press in a few

[1] This copy is now in the Public Library of Versailles. It was sold at the Gaignat sale in 1769 (No. 2528) for 350 francs, the purchaser being the Duc de la Vallière, at whose sale in 1783 (No. 4408) it only realised 120 francs. A second edition appeared at Lyons in 1538. It is also excessively rare.

days or weeks, and as there were frequent rumours of an approaching royal visit to Lyons, the author no doubt hoped that this would prove a favourable opportunity for obtaining the licence by means of his influential Lyonese friends. For nearly thirty years the government of Lyons had been successively entrusted to the members of a Milanese family, equally distinguished as military commanders and as civil administrators, but yet more eminent by their attachment to literature, and by the uniform protection and assistance which they afforded to men of letters. Gian Jacopo di Trivulzi, known in French history as *Le Grand Trivulce*, Marquis de Vigevano and Marshal of France, was the first of his family who held the important office of Governor of Lyons. It was now held by Pompone de Trivulce, who followed the example of his uncle and immediate predecessor Theodore in protecting and fostering literature, and especially in favouring and encouraging the art of printing and those who exercised it. I have before said that the press of Lyons was more free than elsewhere in France; books which would not have been permitted to see the light in Paris, or which would have subjected their authors and printers to condign punishment, appeared at Lyons, though not with the direct sanction of the Governor, yet with the certainty that he would do all in his power to protect their authors and printers from molestation. At the very time when the King and the Doctors of the Sorbonne were conspiring to destroy 'this divine art' (as Dolet justly calls it), the printers of Lyons were combining to show their gratitude to Pompone de Trivulce for his favour and protection. The first of May was the fête-day of the printers at Lyons, and it was their custom to plant a fir-tree called the May of the Printers (*le Mai des Imprimeurs*) before the door of some person of distinction to whom they especially

desired to show respect. In 1529 the May was erected before the door of Theodore de Trivulce, inscribed with a poetical address by no less a hand than that of Clément Marot.[1] In 1535 it was Pompone de Trivulce whom the printers determined to honour, and it was the pen of Étienne Dolet that supplied the inscription. The May was planted before the house of the Governor, inscribed with a Latin ode, of which the Père de Colonia remarks,[2] 'The noble simplicity, the antique flavour, and the pure Latinity remind us of the Augustan age.'[3]

Ad Pomponium Trivulsium Lugduni Rectorem,
Typographi Lugdunenses.

Fuerit Tityro ille Deus, ei qui permisit,
Quæ vellet, agresti calamo ludere, et agnos,
Bovesque ducere libere per florentes
Campos. Eris nobis Deus, qui permittis
Solita nos frui lætitia, et libertate.
Ob id, viridem tibi pinum consecratam
Accipe vultu, atque animo, quo consecrata est.

With such a governor there was every chance that the licence would in time be granted. By the middle of 1535 the printing had commenced, and a month later a proof-

[1] Epigram 144.

[2] *Histoire Littéraire de Lyon*, ii. 497. A less learned schoolboy than Macaulay's will not have much difficulty in tracing the origin of the first half of this ode.

[3] According to M. Péricaud (*Notes et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Lyon, 1483-1546*, p. 52), Louis Tolozan, Prevôt des Marchands and Commandant of the city of Lyons, was the last magistrate in whose honour a May was planted in 1786. M. Péricaud attributed this ode of Dolet to the year 1529, and considers it to have been in honour of Theodore de Trivulce. In his *Carmina*, however, Dolet himself addresses it (as in the text) to Pompone de Trivulce, and it is clear that 1535 was the only year of the latter's government in which Dolet could have been in Lyons on or about the 1st of May. Pompone de Trivulce was superseded at the end of that year by the Cardinal de Tournon.

sheet was ready to be sent to Jean de Boyssone. The latter—as well as many others—was eagerly expecting the appearance of the *Commentaries*, and in a letter before referred to[1] he thus speaks of them :—

'As to your *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* we have no information here (Toulouse) whether you have yet finished them. I cannot put into words the eagerness with which we expect their appearance, yet persons are not wanting, even among those who wish you well, who affirm that you purloined the *Commentaries* from Simon Villanovanus, a report which, although it does not seem to me in any way probable, will not in any respect hinder the success of your book, for your calumniators do not bear in mind that to the book itself it would be no small merit to have had as its authors Villanovanus and Dolet.'

To this Dolet replied on Aug. 31 :[2] 'As regards my *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, I laugh at the lies of the envious, and I am really in that state of mind concerning them which you say I ought to be. No calumnies have as yet broken my spirit, and their attempts to crush me in the future will be still less successful, as I become daily more and more hardened against the absurdities of mankind. Let these brutish Tolosans at least wait until my book is published, and then if they have any judgment let them judge with certainty. Are they able, do you think, now to decide matters against me, the nature of which they have as yet neither read nor seen? In order that you may judge more truly and justly, I have sent you as a specimen a proof-sheet of the work, the printing of which has begun.'

In the meantime the political projects and mundane ambitions of the King had brought about an interval of respite and hope to the party of reform. Charles V. was

[1] *Ante*, p. 218. Toulouse MS. fol. xvii.
[2] Id. fol. i.

engaged on his expedition against the pirates of Tunis, and to declare war against him while occupied in this pious and Christian work would have been to excite the horror of civilised Europe. Francis counted on this expedition being unsuccessful; he expected to see his rival defeated and weakened, and he determined to be ready to declare war immediately on the Emperor's return; but it was necessary in the meantime to look out for allies. The Lutheran princes of Germany had been alienated and irritated by the persecution which followed the affair of the placards. The 'magnificent lords of Berne' were even more interested than the German princes in the toleration of the Reformers. Their influence was so widely extended over the territories on the east of France, from Geneva to Basle, that their alliance was far more important to Francis than the comparatively insignificant extent of their dominions would lead us to expect. It was the urgent pressure of the lords of Berne, that effected what in other similar cases even the powerful influence of Marguerite of Navarre had been unable to effect, and rescued the great citizen of Geneva, Baudichon de la Maison Neuve, from the stake, after he had been condemned by the Inquisitor-General and the officials of the Archbishop of Lyons as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular arm. But the friendship of my lords of Berne for Francis had received a rude shock from the persecutions of the winter of 1534-5. To conciliate the German and Swiss reformers, an edict was issued on the 16th of July 1535 by which the King ordered the prosecutions of Protestants to cease, and liberated those who were in prison for the cause of religion. The severe restrictions on the press were about the same time loosened, and although the victorious return of Charles from Tunis had falsified the hopes of Francis, war was commenced, and for nearly three years, that is to say until the peace of June 1538, the Reformers were

allowed an interval of rest and toleration. Charles was at this moment sincerely desirous of peace, and immediately commenced negotiations in the hope of satisfying the King's claims on the Duchy of Milan, but his efforts were unsuccessful. The campaign began in earnest; and in order to be near the seat of war and personally to direct the campaign, Francis paid his long-expected visit to Lyons, arriving on the 7th of February 1536. He remained in the south-east of France the greater part of the year, paying frequent visits to Lyons; and on the 21st of March Dolet had the satisfaction of obtaining, or seeing obtained by Gryphius, the long-wished-for permission to print the *Commentaries*. It is dated at Crémieu, a small town about eighteen miles from Lyons, where the King was then holding his court, and is addressed to the Provost of Paris, the Bailiff of Mâcon, the Seneschal of Lyons, and all other justiciaries, officers, and their lieutenants. It then continues, 'Our dear and well-beloved Master Sebastian Gryphius, printer in ordinary to our town of Lyons, has made known to us that he is desirous of printing at great expense, to the profit and promotion of Latin letters, a book entitled *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, by Estienne Dolet.' It then grants to him the exclusive right to print the same for a period of four years, and forbids all other printers from doing the like under penalty of fines and confiscation of their books.

The *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* is the work on which Dolet's reputation as a Latin scholar must principally rest. It had been in preparation for twelve years, for, as he tells us, it was before he went to Padua that he had determined to compose this work, the compilation of which seems from that time to have been the first object of his care. The first volume appeared in 1536, in or soon after the month of May; and though now of no living interest to the scholar, it is certainly one of the most important

contributions to Latin scholarship which the sixteenth century produced. It is a work of immense labour, the result of a profound and lengthened study of Cicero, as well as of many other Latin authors; and it will be admitted by all who have examined it, that no work had up to that time appeared, which was calculated to be so useful to the student of Latin literature. At the same time I cannot agree with those who have placed it above all other contemporary works in Latin scholarship. Neither here nor elsewhere does Dolet show much critical power or skill, and as between the *Commentaries* of Dolet and the Latin *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne, pre-eminence in scholarship must be awarded to the latter. Yet the *Commentaries* were certainly an important contribution to Latin scholarship. The publication of the (second edition of the) *Thesaurus* of Estienne is considered by Hallam to mark an epoch in the department of Latin philology.[1] He should have said the almost simultaneous publication of the *Commentaries* of Dolet and the second edition of the *Thesaurus*, and one of the remarks which he makes on the latter is equally applicable to the former: 'The preceding dictionaries of Calepin and other compilers had been limited to an interpretation of single words, sometimes with references to passages in the authors who had employed them. This produced on the one hand perpetual barbarisms and deviations from purity of idiom, while it gave rise in some to a fastidious hyper-

[1] Hallam speaks of the publication of his (Estienne's) *Thesaurus* in 1535, augmented in a subsequent edition of 1543. The first edition of the *Thesaurus* was in October 1532, in a single volume, which had cost the author two years of hard and incessant labour, and which, though a great advance on any dictionary then extant, would not have deserved the praise which Hallam gives to the author had not a second edition appeared in December 1536 (there was no edition in 1535), so much augmented as to be almost a new work. This was followed in 1543 by a third edition, still more enlarged, and for which the author had the advantage of consulting the *Commentaries* of Dolet.

criticism, of which Valla had given an example. Stephens first endeavoured to exhibit the proper use of words, not only in all the anomalies of idiom, but in every delicate variation of sense to which the pure taste and subtle discernment of the best writers had given an example.' The aims and scope of the two scholars were however as different as the methods they employed, and while those of Robert Estienne were more conducive to the practical utility of his work, those of Dolet were certainly more scientific and critical. The work of Robert Estienne was a dictionary and nothing more, in which the alphabetical order was followed, and in which each word was explained by itself and without regard to its relationship to others.[1] Dolet, on the contrary,

[1] The alphabetical method seems to us, from habit, so natural that we find a difficulty in conceiving the possibility of any other. Yet it may be doubted whether that of Dolet was not the true order, and whether, had not his misfortunes and untimely death on the charge of atheism caused his work to drop out of the memory and use of man, his system might not have come into general use. It was the success and popularity of the *Dictionary* of R. Estienne (which has continued to be the basis of all subsequent Latin Dictionaries) which fixed the alphabetical method, convenient as it is, so firmly that it is impossible to change it; yet J. M. Gesner, in his *Dissertatio de Præcipuis Lexicis Latinis* prefixed to his *Novus Linguæ et Eruditionis Romanæ Thesaurus* (Lips., 1749), considers that the popularity of R. Estienne's alphabetical order has been a misfortune to Latin scholarship. It will be remembered that a non-alphabetic method analogous to, though not the same as that of Dolet, was adopted in the first edition of the *Dictionary* of the French Academy as the true and scientific one, and it was only changed to the alphabetical method in the second edition because the latter had become too rooted in the popular mind to be changed. 'Il y a deux manières de ranger les mots dans un dictionnaire; l'une de les mettre tous, de quelque nature qu'ils soient, dans leur ordre alphabétique; l'autre de les disposer par racines, c'est à dire, de n'observer l'ordre de l'alphabet que pour les mots primitifs. . . . Or, de ces deux méthodes la dernière est véritablement la plus savante, la plus propre à instruire un lecteur studieux. . . . Mais cette méthode n'accommodoit pas l'impatience du François; ainsi l'Académie après l'avoir employée dans la première édition de son dictionnaire, a cru devoir l'abandonner dans la seconde.' Olivet, *Hist. de l'Académie Française.*

arranged his words according to their connection with each other, or rather with the ideas which they expressed. The commentary upon one word is followed by a commentary upon the words of a like character, and then upon those which are contrary or dissimilar. Thus to *amare*, with which the *Commentaries* commence, follow in order *adamare*, *redamare*, *amator*, *amabilis*, *diligere*, *observare*, *colere*, *amplecti*, *complecti*, *amicitia*, *amor*, *charitas*, *pietas*, *benevolentia*, *animus*, *voluntas*, and so on, until the author has completely exhausted the words expressing or having relation to this idea. The words are thus classed, not according to their sound or orthography, but according to their signification. The object of Robert Estienne was merely to explain the meaning of words; that of Dolet was to do this, but at the same time to group together and show the relations between all words capable of expressing the same or a similar or a contrary idea. Dolet thus explains the method of his *Commentaries* in a brief introduction to the first volume :—

'That the method of these my *Commentaries* may be more clearly seen and more easily understood, I wish to explain the arrangement I make use of. In the first place I give the meaning of each word, both its primary and its secondary or tralatitious meaning. Then I distinguish the different uses of the words. Lastly I adduce examples, but of each kind separately, so that instances are given of the words used in their original signification, and again in their secondary. But in setting forth the different uses of a word, I have so separated the examples, that immediately after showing as accurately as possible the primary signification of a word and the tralatitious one (if it has a tralatitious meaning), I adduce simple examples of the different uses. I call them simple because they are set forth with no special grace or elegance of construction. Having done this, I illustrate by separate examples the various uses and forms of construction

of the word. When I have shown both in my own language and by examples drawn from Cicero, the primary and secondary meanings of the word in question, I then subjoin other words of a cognate meaning, and so continue in a connected series as long as it seems possible to do so. But as it is not possible to connect all the words together in an infinite series, when I have exhausted a series of congruent words I naturally proceed to their contraries, and with them I use as far as possible the same plan. . . . For example, after the words *conciliare*, *conjungere*, on the next page are opposed the words *alienare*, *abalienare*. So to *consentire*, *convenire*, *congruere*, *concordare*, *coire*, *conspirare*, *conjurare*, succeed *dissentire*, *dissidere*, *discordare*, *discrepare*, like opposing standards brought together for hostile encounter. But I must pursue my course in my own stupid way. I directly join opposites to opposites, so only that the series of words is not interrupted, and thus when the forms of similar and dissimilar words are extended somewhat more at length, my system becomes plain. In the meantime, as to those who are indolent, and who impudently and recklessly devote their ill-employed leisure to calumniating the labours of the studious, they certainly do not know the matter which they talk about; they morosely blame, as they do everything, the multitude of examples I make use of. Once for all let this be said to them, you may both explain the meaning of words, and may inculcate the principles of rhetoric, so as much more clearly to enunciate them and lay them open, by the abundance and copiousness of examples and expressions, than by any verbose explanation of a grammarian, or any system of a rhetorician. Let them cease to speak malevolently, and let them suffer the ignorant youths, for whom I have prepared this exercise of my earlier manhood (for why should I prepare it for the learned, whose minds are filled with erudition of all kinds, and by whom an

abundance of examples is not needed?), to be allured to or prepared for the reading of Cicero by the happy abundance of Ciceronian examples. But of what use is it to complain of the perverse loquacity of my detractors? I have hoped that by the multitude of examples I might be more easily able to explain to those who are ignorant, the use of words. I have therefore desired to abound in examples, so that the student may saturate himself with them, and thus be led as far as possible to a knowledge and to a comparison of the use of expressions. And if my work has by this accumulation of examples increased to an immense size, this will be considered as so much gain; nor will it be treated as a matter of regret to be able to acquire at so small an expense, so great wealth in Latin oratory. I hope to complete the whole of my *Commentaries* in three volumes. The first, in which I treat of the use of nouns and verbs, is now finished; in the second I shall continue and complete the same subject, and shall afterwards treat of indeclinable particles; in the third I shall set forth certain rare and specially elegant modes of expression, culled and collected from Latin writers, and in a brief essay shall touch upon Latin style and prose-rhythm. Of these matters I do not wish you to be ignorant, and I also wish you to understand the system and arrangement of my *Commentaries*.'

It would appear, from several passages in the second volume, that his method had not been entirely understood, and had been unfavourably criticised, and accordingly he more than once explains it, and claims it as his own invention, of which he was not unreasonably proud.[1] 'In these *Commentaries*,' he says in a prefatory note, 'my first intention was to originate a new method of compiling dictionaries which no other Greek or Latin scholar could claim for himself. This arrangement (as you will already have

[1] See cols. 763, 913, 1034, 1085, and 1583 of vol. ii.

gathered from a perusal of my work) is, that I do not follow the alphabetical order as is done by the common herd of grammarians, but join things to things, and connect together expressions of a cognate meaning.' And in a long dissertation near the end of the second volume,[1] after stating that he has endeavoured to explain, not merely the meanings of words, but the nature of the things specified, so as to have as it were complete treatises on many matters, such as *res bellicæ*, *navales*, *rusticæ*, *cælestes*, he thus continues: 'I have only sought to explain the leading and as it were distinguished words. The *Dictionary* of M. Nizolius, or the *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne, or Calepin (an edition of whose work has lately been published by certain learned men, with the assistance and at the expense of Sebastian Gryphius), will supply the common crowd of words.'

Passing from the method to the substance of the *Commentaries*, it is certainly to be regretted that Dolet confined himself to examples taken from so few writers. Those from Cicero are many times more numerous than the examples from all the other Latin authors put together, though he often cites, especially in his second volume, Terence, Plautus, Cæsar, Sallust, and Livy, and, very rarely, Pliny, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Columella, and Horace. The first volume is little more than a commentary on the Ciceronian use of the words treated of, with occasional illustrations from Terence and Plautus. The second volume has a much wider range, yet here also Cicero reigns supreme. Considering however that the author was only twenty-seven years of age when the first volume appeared, he certainly displays a remarkably thorough knowledge of Cicero, Terence and Plautus, and of the Latin language as used by them, an admirable and elegant Latin style, and a great facility in the use of it.

[1] Col. 1583.

But the interest and value of the work from the point of view of Latin scholarship is, like that of the early editions of the *Dictionary* of Robert Estienne, historical merely. Its present and living interest is to be found in the numerous parenthetical disquisitions and notes in which the author indulges. These are often autobiographical, often relating to contemporary scholars whom the author loved or hated, but are always full of a lively interest. Dolet was not one of those writers who ever forgot or allowed his readers to forget his own individuality. Whatever he wrote, whether history, poetry, or criticism, his self-consciousness never deserted him, and his subject matter is a mirror in which are displayed his vanity, his desire for literary fame, his quarrels, his loves, his hatreds. The consequence of this is that all his books, however imperfect as works of art, contain much entertaining matter, and one is never sure what may be found in them. Thus, as an example of the word *tangere* he gives,[1] 'Genabum præclarum Galliæ oppidum (in quo et natus et ad duodecimum annum adolescens educatus sum) Ligerim fluvium *tangit* : id est, juxta Ligerim est conditum.' He panegyrises Longolius, Budæus, and Simon Villanovanus, he laments the cruel death of Thomas More, and (in his first volume) attacks Erasmus with a virulence which here, as in his *Dialogue*, brings out into painfully sharp relief the worst side of his own character. Yet in his second volume the pen was in his hand at the word *pacisci*,[2] when the news of the death of the great scholar reached him. He at once laid aside his hatred, for, as he says in another place, he warred not with the dead, and stopped to pay a warm and generous tribute to the merits of the author of the *Ciceronianus*, in an ode which is not one of the least happy of his productions. 'Whilst I was writing,' he says, 'the news of the death of Erasmus reached Lyons. Why should I say

[1] I *Com.* 938. [2] Col. 151.

anything more here respecting my quarrel with him? I only wish posterity to know that as when he was living, I frequently showed myself hostile and bitter against him, so now that he is dead, I desire to be both just and friendly to him, and treat him with a moderation which he himself did not show to others. The following ode is a proof of my good feeling towards him.'

Then follows an ode in which he tells us he warred with Erasmus when living, as an enemy of Cicero and the French; but now that he is dead, he feels that Germany and literature have lost one of their greatest ornaments.[1]

[1] Quondam bella ferocia
Cum inter se atque duces Romulidæ atque Afri
Ducebant animosius :
Tum, donec validus, vivus, et integer,
Frendensque, atque minans erat
Hostis, cui, gladio cominus aggredi,
Et telo appetere undique,
Non laudabile, non egregium fuit?
Ergo, dum fuit integer,
Et pugnæ cupidus, spicula senserit
Nostra hostis Ciceronis, et
Galli (quæ rabies!) nominis insolens.
Jam jam parcere mortuo
Mens est, nec tacitam carpere postea
Larvam vulnifico stylo.
Defunctum meritis sic modo laudibus,
O Musæ, meritum senem
Ornemus. Rapuit mors nimium rapax
Germanæ patriæ decus,
Doctorumque decus, quoslibet Itala
Tellus, Gallaque proferat
(Te Budæe tamen, te quoque Longoli?)
Germanæ patriæ decus,
Doctorumque decus mors rapuit rapax.

This ode has been translated into English verse neither very accurately nor very poetically, in the 62nd volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 1037 (Nov. 1792).

In both volumes numerous dissertations are to be found, though in the second they are both more numerous and more interesting than in the first. In each volume the author loses no opportunity, or rather makes numerous opportunities of glorifying himself, his studies, his writings, and his friends, and complaining of his enemies and detractors. In this, as in so many of his other writings, he seems to show that he had a presentiment and foreshadowing of his terrible fate. In one place [1] he prays that his life may never depend on the sentence of a judge; in another [2] he confesses that he has no desire to die before his time, yet that he accompanies his devotion to letters with a constant meditation on and recollection of death. Besides the passages devoted generally to the scholars and poets of the time, Clément Marot, Bonaventure Des Periers, Maurice Scève, Jean de Langeac, Guillaume du Choul, and others are in the second volume honoured with special paragraphs.

The form in which the *Commentaries* appeared was well worthy of their merits. The two folios which contain them are, with one exception,[3] the most splendid monument of the typographical art of Gryphius, as well as, without exception, the most important original work which issued from his prolific press. In the 1708 closely-printed columns which form the text of the first volume, the author only noted eight errata, which are corrected at the end; and though he does not assert, nor is it the fact, that there are no others, yet they are certainly very few in number. The border of the title-page of each volume is a most elaborate specimen of wood engraving, displaying the merits and the defects of the

[1] 2 *Com.* 1328.

[2] Id. 1163.

[3] The exception here referred to is the magnificent Latin *Bible* printed by S. Gryphius in 1550 in two volumes folio, with a larger type than up to that time had been used for any edition of the Bible.

contemporary German school; and if wanting in delicacy and taste, yet it possesses the force and vigour which show the hand of a master. At the top in the centre is King Solomon, with Aristotle and Plato on one side, and Socrates and Pythagoras on the other; on each side of the page are portraits of twenty of the poets, orators, and historians of Greece and Rome, and at the foot, extending the width of the whole title-page, Homer crowned by the Muses.[1]

The work commences with a dedication to Francis I. Then after an ode, also addressed to the King, comes a further prefatory letter addressed to Budé.

'Having now,' he says, 'arrived at the twenty-seventh year of my age, I know that the works I have hitherto published are rather copious than weighty or marked by great abilities. It was the disgraceful insults of certain most

[1] These woodcut borders were not designed specially for the *Commentaries*. M. A. F. Didot (*Essai sur l'histoire de la gravure sur bois*, p. 230) writes, 'Je remarque que le grand encadrement in-f°. du titre des *Commentaria* de Dolet imprimés en 1536 par Sébastien Gryphe est le même que celui dont le beau et savant dessin ne saurait être attribué qu'à Holbein et dont Froben s'est servi pour son édition des *Adagia* d'Érasme, Bâle, 1520. A côté de la figure représentant Aristote, on voit même les deux lettres I. F. (Jean Froben), marque qui se retrouve sur plusieurs planches gravées pour lui d'après Holbein. On ne saurait douter que ce ne soient les mêmes gravures sur bois ou plutôt sur cuivre en relief qui aient servi aux éditions de Bâle et de Lyon. Ce même encadrement, composé de quatre pièces, avait d'abord paru à Bâle en 1520, sur le titre des *Erasmi Adagia* imprimés par Froben, puis en tête du Strabon in-f°. chez Valentin Curio en 1523, et en 1526 chez André Cratander, en tête de l'Hippocrate, d'où il revint à Lyon pour orner l'édition de Dolet en 1536, puis le Lexique de Calepinus imprimé par Sebastien Gryphe en 1540.' I can supplement this note with six other volumes in which I have found the same woodcut borders on the title. Five of these are from the press of Gryphius, namely, editions of the *Adagia* of Erasmus of 1529 and 1530, the *De verborum significatione* of Alciat, the *Thesaurus* of Sanctes Pagnini, 1529, and the *De perenni philosophia* of Aug. Steuchus, 1540; the other volume is *Divi Clementis recognitionum Libri X . . . Rufino Torino interprete*, printed by Bebelius at Basle in 1526.

cruel men (whose names I suppress) which compelled me to perform the task of addressing the public prematurely. But you certainly do not doubt, and indeed all who know my gentleness will be certain, that if I have written anything against them too harshly, the anger which, owing to the unbearable insults I had received, I had manifested, was growing less sharp, when it was again excited beyond expectation. I perhaps allowed myself to seem too warm, and showed the appearance of a somewhat too angry spirit (which my enemies foolishly cast in my teeth), but which really my great forbearance, wounded and violated as it was, had inflamed.' After going on in this strain for some time, and then proceeding to abuse of Erasmus (which he knew would be agreeable to Budé), he thus continues :—

'I have now endeavoured to obey the rule of life which has been afforded to us by nature, namely to devise something which would be useful, and would promote the interests of as many as possible. But I have thought that I ought to have regard not only to my dear countrymen, that is to say the French, but to all those who cherish an affection for the Latin tongue. I have not however undertaken my work with the idea of injuring the reputation of the many learned men who before me have commented upon the Latin language with both ingenuity and learning. I have neither the wish nor the power to do this. What I have endeavoured to do is to make more complete, more copious, and to digest in a more convenient order for the benefit of the studious youth, that which has been rather attempted than accomplished by others. In these my *Commentaries* I do not break off the handle for others who may come after me ; I have only thought that the way by which I have myself slowly arrived at my own familiarity with the Latin tongue, and the method of study by which the hope has come to me that I might be able to attain both to copiousness of words and

clearness of expression, ought not to be concealed, but that the opportunity ought to be afforded to all, of studying in like manner and of applying this method to their own studies. It is this method that I have been especially desirous of making known. Accordingly when I was sixteen years of age (at the time when the French King succumbed by treachery on the field of Pavia), having mastered the rudiments of the Latin language, I gave myself up almost entirely to the reading of Cicero, and attentively noticing his forms of expressions, I began to compile these *Commentaries*, not indeed then with a view to their publication, but merely for my own personal benefit. As my age increased and my studies progressed, so did my *Commentaries*. But when I began to lay the foundation of my Latin style, and to devote myself to the study of grammatical forms, I grew somewhat wearied of my *Commentaries*, and in my desire to attain a good Latin style, they ceased for a long time to make progress. But what I have found to be of so great service to myself, and have hoped would not be useless to others, I have thought I ought to endeavour to lay open to all. I have therefore decided on publishing this work, begun indeed in my youth, but now entirely re-written and completed with all the care, diligence and judgment which I could bring to bear upon it. But besides the desire which I have had for some time of promoting the interests of youthful students, my greatest inducement for an earlier publication than I should otherwise have wished has been the consideration that, if I postponed the matter and afterwards gave myself up to more important matters of study, I should be indisposed to return to more humble ones. For I am planning a more serious undertaking ; I have for some time contemplated, after completing the labour which these *Commentaries* have imposed upon me, devoting my-

self to writing the history of our own time. This (if one may venture to predict anything as to one's own work) the youth who loves literature shall sometime receive from me. My native country shall not complain that I have wasted my leisure and the fruits of my studies in feeble or useless writings. As then I have passed my youth and manhood in a most honourable and praiseworthy kind of study, so it is my wish to pass my old age, unless I should be taken away by a premature death. I shall thus most abundantly satisfy my great desire of contributing something to the common weal.'

Then follow some just criticisms on the mode of writing history (and other things) then in vogue, and Dolet contrasts this mode with that of Budé, of whose works he says, 'Will the time ever come when your writings will be neglected by the learned? Will they ever at any time become wearisome? They will live for all time, as will those which like them possess that great learning which will procure for them immortality.' He then announces that his *Commentaries* are to be in three volumes, of which this is the first.

Three pieces of Latin verse follow, addressed to his book, one of which I shall venture to quote :—

Doleti ad Commentarios.

Prima meæ monimenta artis, monimenta juventæ
Prima meæ, tandem auspiciis exite secundis :
Ac longæ pertæsa moræ, nimiumque retenta
Vos desiderium capiat jam lucis : in auras
Surgite : nec maledica hominum vel lingua, vel asper
Sermo metum injiciat : studio quin luminis ite,
Ite (imbecilles animos timor arguit) ite
Prima meæ monimenta artis, monimenta juventæ
Prima meæ tandem auspiciis exite secundis.

Of the digressions and dissertations contained in the first volume, I pass over those which are devoted to his own glorification, to the attacks of his enemies (real and imaginary), to the exaltation of Villanovanus and Longolius, and to the depreciation of Erasmus,[1] and shall here quote only the longest but certainly the most interesting digression, in which, though in too rhetorical a style, he reviews the state of literature from the commencement of its revival, and enumerates those who have most contributed to it[2]:—

'Having explained the words which relate to motion and rest, I now pass on to another thing which proceeds from rest or leisure, namely, *Literæ*. Certainly literary pursuits spring from leisure, and cannot exist without it; but yet before I explain the words relating to this matter, and show their uses, let me express the delight which I feel at the dignified position of literature, which in our time flourishes so remarkably.

'Literary studies are cultivated everywhere with so much vigour that, in order to attain to the glory of the ancients, nothing is wanting save the ancient intellectual freedom and the prospect of acquiring distinction by the cultivation of the liberal arts. What the learned miss, is the affection, the liberality, the courtesy of the powerful; the patronage of a Mæcenas is needed as a stimulant to their talents and an encouragement to their labours. Further, there is wanting to us an opportunity for the display of eloquence, a Roman senate, a republic in which honour and a due meed of praise would be awarded to it, so as to arouse even the most sluggish natures, and to inflame to the highest pitch

[1] In a long dissertation on eloquence and on the imitation of Cicero (col. 1235) he compares Erasmus and Longolius. Every possible unfavourable epithet is applied to the style of Erasmus, while that of Longolius is lauded to the skies.

[2] Col. 1156.

those who are naturally well endowed with oratorical talent. Instead of these inducements to the study of the liberal arts, there is among many a contempt for literary culture. Ridicule is awarded to those who are devoted to intellectual pursuits; literary labour has to be pursued without any hope or prospect of reward; the life of the student is passed without honour; the contempt of the multitude has to be endured; the tyranny and insolence of the powerful have to be borne; and danger to life itself is often the result of intellectual pursuits. Yet the vices of the times have not so completely driven intellectual excellence beyond the boundaries of Europe, as that we do not see everywhere some who are burning with love for it. And although in the incessant and bitter struggle with barbarism and ignorance, which has now continued for a century, the victory, owing to the too great strength and power of the barbarians, has often been doubtful, yet the result has at length been the success of the party of progress.

'Laurentius Valla, assisted by noble contemporaries, was one of the first to lead the way and to break the line of battle of the enemy. Yet this seemed but a skirmish of light-armed troops fighting at a distance, not in a close hand-to-hand combat. For though a breach was made in the enemies' line, the wings of the barbarian army were not even conscious of it. But when the efforts of Valla and his contemporaries were almost crushed by the leaders of the barbarians, Angelus Politianus, Hermolaüs Barbarus, Picus of Mirandola, Volaterranus, Cœlius Rhodiginus, Sabellicus, Crinitus, Philelphus, Marsilius Ficinus, and all that illustrious generation came to their help, and well armed with eloquence bore down with vigour and boldness upon the army of the barbarians, which had collected its scattered forces and was regaining its strength. But though their efforts led to their own destruction, they certainly over-

threw the hosts of the barbarians, though unable completely to destroy their forces. The right wing of the barbarian army remained intact after the battle, only the left was cut to pieces. Suddenly from Italy, Germany, Britain, Spain, and France, the thunderbolts of letters are hurled upon barbarism, which was still standing erect and rearing its crest aloft; it is made to yield itself up and is led away in triumph.

'Italy, which has ever been the metropolis of eloquence, and never destitute of men of genius, furnished the chief leaders, men of the greatest reputation in the pursuit of eloquence, and who had achieved the highest literary success, Bembo, Sadolet, Baptista Egnatius (whose lectures on the Offices of Cicero and on Lucretius I myself attended at Venice), Andreas Navagerus, Romulus Amaseus, Nicolas Leoniceni, Lampridius, Lazarus Buonamicus. It added as poets, Jovianus Pontanus, Hieronymus Vida, Actius Syncerus Sannazarius. What men are these! What praise do they not deserve! What glory have they not achieved! Next after these, and fighting vigorously against the barbaric horde, come Cardinal Adrian, Bartholomæus Riccius, Marius Nizolius, Hortensius Appianus, and with them the celebrated physician Joannes Manardus. At the same time Andreas Alciatus, in his youth a fugitive from the camp of the legists, but in no ordinary degree imbued with literary culture, and ever of most high repute amongst the most learned, attacks the barbarians; nor is he alone, but is accompanied and encouraged to the fight by Æmilius Ferret and Otho Bosio. Such is the noble cohort, and such the illustrious leaders which Italy has sent to the combat. As to the rank and file, the fighting soldiers, I do not name them; but their names, as yet obscure, will in due time shine as brilliantly as those of their leaders.

'Germany in its turn, excited by and emulous of the studies of Italy, gave the signal to its troops to charge the enemy. At their country's command, Johan Reuchlin and Rudolf Agricola take up arms, and associate with them their disciple Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, a writer indeed rather verbose and sarcastic than eloquent and graceful, yet by his great pile of volumes an unwearied assistant in promoting the interests of literature. They are immediately followed by Philip Melanchthon, first in eminence among the Germans. Rapidly following them come on Ulrich Hutten, Beatus Rhenanus, Symon Grynæus, Henricus Glareanus, Martin Dorpius, Conrad Goclenius, Eobanus Hesse, Jacobus Mycillus, Johannes Oporinus, Jacobus Omphalius, Ulrich Zazius, Viglius Zuichemus, Carolus Sucquet, Cop of Basle, and Leonard Fuchsius, all desiring freedom from the barbaric yoke, some for eloquence, some for poetry, some for jurisprudence, and some for medicine.

'In Britain there have arisen against barbarism, Cuthbert Tonstal, Thomas Linacre, and Thomas More, the latter as happily gifted with literary talent, as he was unhappy in his unjust and unfortunate fate. From Spain came forth Ludovicus Vives and Antonius Nebrissensis, the latter showing more courage than skill. Cocles Ninivita[1] (whom I had almost passed over) follows, and is one of the first to attack barbarism and to provoke it to battle.

'France, which I have reserved to the last that I may not be charged with giving undue precedence to my own country, is not absent, and gives with her forces no slight assistance to those of Italy, Germany, Britain, and Spain. Budé as their chief captain heads them, a man as distinguished in Greek as in Latin literature. Closely behind

[1] Jean Despautère, the grammarian, surnamed Ninivita from his birthplace, Ninove in Brabant, and Cocles as being blind of one eye.

him follows Lefèvre d'Etaples, defended by the shield of philosophy. To Christopher Longolius (it does not matter that when a young man, owing to the injuries of his fellow-citizens, he renounced his country, for Longolius was really a Frenchman[1]) and Simon Villanovanus the duty is assigned of extending the frontiers of the Latin tongue; to this they devote their energies, and having gained a victory over barbarism, they restore eloquence to its ancient dignity. As soon as the desire of our country to aid the cause of letters is made known, Jean de Pins, Nicolas Bérauld (under whom when sixteen years of age I studied rhetoric at Paris), Germain Brice, Lazarus Baif, Pierre Danès, Jacques Toussain, Salmon Macrin, Nicolas Bourbon, Guillaume Mayne, Jean Voulté, Oronce Finé of Dauphiné, Pierre Gilles, join themselves as companions in arms to Budé, Lefèvre, Longolius, and Villanovanus. Eminent jurists ally themselves with these against barbarism — Pyrrhus Angleberme of Orléans, Pierre de l'Estoile, a native of the same place, Gui de Breslay, Jean de Boyssone of Toulouse, Guillaume Scève of Lyons, Claude Chansonette, Émile Perrot, and Michel de l'Hôpital. From the medical schools there rush to the conflict Symphorien Champier, Jacques du Bois, Jean Ruel, Jean Cop, François Rabelais, Carolus Paludanus.[2]

'This corps of learned men, collected from every quarter, has made such havoc with the camp of barbarism, that there is no place left for it on which to take up its position. It has fled from Italy, it has left Germany, it has escaped from

[1] Longolius was born at Liège, and Villanovanus was, strictly speaking, a Fleming, yet Dolet, like other writers of the time, treated them as of the Gallic nation.

[2] Of Carolus Paludanus I know nothing except a complimentary epigram of Gilbert Ducher, *Epigrammata* (Lugd. 1538), p. 148. He seems to have been a physician of Lyons.

England, it has rushed forth from Spain, it has been expelled and cast out from France, not a city in Europe but is free from the horrible monster. Everywhere letters are cultivated to the highest pitch, all liberal studies flourish, and by the aid of literary culture, men are led to the knowledge, long neglected, of the true and the just. Men are at length learning to know themselves; their eyes, formerly shut up in the darkness of a miserable blindness, are at length opened to universal light. They are at length seen to differ from the brutes by minds capable of culture, and by language (the chief point of distinction between us and the lower animals) which is now accurately studied and brought to perfection. Have I not then reason to congratulate letters on their triumph, since they have recovered their ancient glory, and (which is their special privilege) gladden the life of man with so many enjoyments? Only let that hatred of literature and of learned men, which is displayed by many who have been educated barbarously and without culture, be extinguished, let those human pests be got rid of, and what would be wanting to complete the happiness of these our times? The authority of these wretched men is however on the wane, and the youth of our day will grow up rightly and liberally educated, and, conscious of the dignity of letters, will hurl down the enemies of culture from their seats, will discharge public duties, will assist in the councils of kings, will preside over and wisely administer public affairs. Moreover, that to which they themselves have owed so much, namely literary culture, they will wish to see spread abroad among all. It is this which teaches us to avoid vice, which generates the love of virtue, which commands kings to seek out those who are lovers and cultivators of virtue justice and equity, to call them to their side and to retain them as their counsellors, which teaches them to avoid and drive from them as a

poison those vicious men, those flatterers, those parasites, those ministers of their pleasures, with which kings' palaces swarm. When all this is accomplished, what more would Plato desire for the happiness of his Republic? He would have none but wise and learned princes there, or at least such as are lovers of the wise and learned and as desire to be guided by their counsels. No one will then have to complain of the want of wisdom in princes, since it will be clear that none are so highly esteemed or so agreeable to them as the wise and learned. All this will be achieved by literary culture, by the study of letters, and by that discipline, which now with such general approval, has permeated the minds of all.'

Between the appearance of the first and second volumes of the *Commentaries* upwards of a year and a half elapsed. The latter did not see the light until the month of February 1538. This long delay was caused by the troubles of the author, arising from the death of Compaing, by the attack of Charles Estienne, and Dolet's reply to it, matters which are treated of in subsequent chapters of this book.

The second, like the first volume, has two dedications, to Francis I. and Guillaume Budé. The former is full of the usual commonplaces, the latter thus commences :—

'At last the second volume of my *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* appears, after long delays caused by the many injuries which have been inflicted on me both by fortune and by men ; yet, owing to my resolute conduct, it has been so constantly pressed forwards, that notwithstanding all the hostility of men and of fortune, it at length comes before the public.'

The remainder relates chiefly to the author's misfortunes, the malice of his enemies, and his design of writing the history of his own times.

The plan pursued in the second is the same as in the first volume. The author completes the commentaries upon nouns and verbs, which occupy eight hundred out of the eight hundred and fifty-eight pages of the volume, and the remainder is devoted to adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections. It has the advantage over the first volume in the much wider range of Latin authors quoted, while the increased number, variety, and interest of the digressions, autobiographical, historical, critical, and philosophical, render it much more entertaining to the modern reader. The author's self-consciousness is as conspicuous as in the former volume, but the tone is more moderate, and the criticisms more judicious, and though still tinged by personal feelings of love and hatred, not entirely based on these.

Clément Marot, Maurice Scève, Guillaume du Choul, and Jean de Langeac receive a due meed of praise. Charles Estienne and Lazarus Baif, notwithstanding the attack upon Dolet, made by the former in the interest of the latter, are treated with the utmost fairness and their merits fully recognised. Menapius indeed, who in his funeral oration upon Erasmus had censured Dolet,—though not more severely than he deserved,—is not spared, and is classed among the *obtrectatores Doleti;* and the Paris professor, who had found fault with the explanation of *conficere* in the first volume, is referred to as *stultus reprehensor*. The nature of the soul, death, and immortality are discussed with freedom and ingenuity, and even with true eloquence, so as to make us specially regret the loss of the book *De Opinione* which, Dolet tells us,[1] he had composed concerning 'the mortality or immortality of the soul, the various judgments of men concerning religion, and their different doctrines in reference to the worship of God.'

[1] *Com.* vol. ii. col. 414.

Francis I., Marguerite of Navarre, Charles V., the Constable de Bourbon, Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrec, all come under notice. Upon the military and naval affairs of the Romans there are complete treatises, and in no other work is there so exhaustive a treatise upon *Vinum* and all that relates to it, including an interesting enumeration of the various French wines then in vogue. Nor in this volume is Dolet open to the charge either of censuring or ignoring the works of his predecessors in the field of lexicography. Robert and Charles Estienne, Lazarus Baif, Nizolius, and Riccius are all referred to and their merits fully admitted.

The third volume, which was to have been a complete treatise upon Latin style both prose and verse, and to which as he tells us he proposed to devote his utmost ability, learning, labour, and judgment, was never written; his misfortunes and his varied literary labours left him no leisure —perhaps no desire—to complete the work.

The publication of the first volume of the *Commentaries*, whilst it at once placed Dolet in the first rank among the Latin scholars of the day and gave him a very high reputation among the French,[1] yet was not received by men of letters generally with the enthusiasm which we might have expected, and indeed drew down upon its author charges which we shall perhaps think more prejudicial to his memory than those for which he was sentenced to death. He had already offended some of the most eminent scholars and several influential schools of thought (or want of thought) of the day, and the dissertations in this volume only repeated his former offences, and added new and more powerful enemies to those who already existed. The Doctors of the Sorbonne, who—as far at least as Latin literature was concerned—

[1] The book, like the other works of Dolet, seems, for reasons which are indicated in the text, to have circulated but little out of France.

assumed and exercised some of those functions which a century later were undertaken in reference to French literature by the Academy, and were revered by the orthodox and the conservative as the highest authorities in matters of learning and taste as well as in matters of opinion and faith, could receive with no favour, even if they were not prepared formally to censure the work of the audacious young man who styled them *sophistæ* and *combibones*,[1] and held them up to the scorn and hatred of the world for their attempted suppression of the art of printing, an attempt which, since it proved wholly ineffectual, they would gladly have seen forgotten. The monks, the bigots, and the whole party of reaction on whose support the Doctors of the Sorbonne relied, had already, from the orations, letters, and poems, seen in the person of Dolet their bitter and irreconcilable enemy, who had thrown himself heart and soul into the ranks of the party of progress, who had devoted himself to the two things they utterly abhorred, letters and freedom of thought, who had so unsparingly ridiculed the superstitions of the Tolosans, and who, in expressing with uncalled-for emphasis and boldness his sympathy with Jean de Boyssone and Jean de Caturce, had already decided them not to rest till he should meet with the latter's fate. On the other hand, his ostentatious ridicule of Luther and his followers in the dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*, and the levity and carelessness with which he treated theological subjects, made the Reformers feel that they had nothing to hope from him, that the matters which were to them so all-important, justification by faith, the communion in both kinds, the precise nature of the sacrament of the altar, were to him but as idle dreams, of less import than a sentence of Cicero or a verse of Terence. His classical paganism, which might have obtained for him a cardinal's hat, or made him a pontifical secretary

[1] *Com.* vol. i. col. 266.

under Julius or Leo, was as distasteful to the Reformers as it had now become to the Church;[1] and a little later Calvin and the Inquisitor-General Orry were in as complete agreement in reference to the atheism of Dolet, as they were in reference to the heresy of Servetus. It might at least have been expected that among scholars and men of letters the merits of the *Commentaries* would have been at once fully recognised, and that to those learned men who were not wholly occupied with another world, but who thought the intellectual progress of the present not altogether unworthy of the attention of those who dwelt in it, so important a contribution to Latin scholarship would have been hailed with delight. But unfortunately the violence of Dolet's attack upon Erasmus had disgusted, as it could not fail to do, all except the personal friends of its author or the personal enemies of Erasmus, and as the latter were with few exceptions the enemies of literature generally, the *Dialogue* had not obtained for its author their favour, much as they rejoiced at the attack upon the learned Dutchman. But Dolet went out of the way to make enemies. We have seen how fiercely in the *Orations* he had attacked the Gascons, because Pinache was of that province. In the *Commentaries* he sneers at the Germans and their Emperor, he heaps up epithets of abuse on the Spaniards, and he hardly conceals his contempt for the Italians. Even among the Ciceronians

[1] It is true that Bembo was not made a cardinal until 1538, but his concubine (Morosina) was then dead, his children grown up, and at sixty years of age he had already renounced his mundane life and his pagan opinions and habits, and had begun to devote himself to the study of Hebrew and the fathers, with a view to the hat which Clement VII. had already wished to confer upon him, and had only been deterred from conferring by the remonstrances of those to whom the life, the tastes, and the opinions, of Bembo, appeared equally scandalous. It was upon the Christian convert, not the pagan scoffer, that Paul III. conferred the hat.

themselves he had made enemies where we should have expected him to have found friends, and though he had done nothing to deserve the anger of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, yet, as we have seen, that learned person chose to vituperate him with all the force which an unlimited use of the most foul and violent language could display, and in the use of which the *père Duchesne* himself might have sat as an humble disciple, at the feet of the descendant of the princes of Verona.

Besides, the first volume of the *Commentaries* was full of offences against good taste and sound criticism. Erasmus is treated with hardly more decency than in the *Dialogue;* and a scholar who saw his *Apophthegmata* characterised as a work 'unworthy of an old man, and more fit for a schoolboy studying grammar than for a learned man,' his epistles styled 'a farrago,' his delightful *Colloquies* described in language more suited to the correspondents of Ortuinus Gratius than to a disciple of Longolius, might well be pardoned for concluding (though in this case erroneously) that so unsound and unappreciative a critic could have nothing worth saying to the world. Nor would this conclusion be lessened by the tone of arrogant contempt for all who differed from him, which is here as elsewhere displayed. Hence it was that except the few men of letters with whom Dolet came into personal contact—and who without a single exception recognised his great abilities and remarkable promise—the *Commentaries* received less attention and excited less admiration than we should have expected. That they were most cordially received and highly appreciated by the head of literature in France, Budé, is evident; but Budé was seventy years of age, in failing health, and never very enthusiastic in promoting or cultivating the success of others. That they would delight the hearts of the good Bishops of Rieux and Limoges we may be sure; but they were both elderly men

retired from the world, and wholly devoid of influence. It was hardly a work for Jean du Bellay, or Rabelais, or Marot to care about, and the rest of Dolet's friends were not in a position to be of much service to him in promoting the reputation of his book. But the work was by no means without its admirers; it commended itself to all scholars who looked at it with unprejudiced eyes. Sturm, than whom there could be no more competent judge, speaks of the *Commentaries* in terms of the highest praise, and laments that they had never been completed.[1] I have already quoted the remarks of Sussanneau and of Voulté. Omphalius was not less emphatic in his admiration.[2] Nor have modern critics spoken of it with less favour. Facciolati,[3] while criticising with some severity Dolet's Latin style, and expressing the opinion that he showed both by his style, and by accepting as a genuine work of Cicero the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, that he was not so thoroughly versed in the writings of Cicero as he professed to be, yet adds, 'Nolim tanti viri famam imminuere, quam sibi apud posteritatem jure peperit'; he describes him as 'doctum et eruditum,' and he admits that his *Commentaries* could only have been composed by a man of genius and industry.

But perhaps the most signal proof of the merits of the book and its author is to be found in the fate of a thin folio, which Dolet printed shortly after the appearance of the

[1] Preface to Sturm's edition of Dolet's *Phrases et Formulæ*, Argentorati, 1576.

[2] 'Scripsit et in eam sententiam nuper multa Stephanus Doletus, præcipuum laborantis eloquentiæ subsidium.' Omphalius, *De Elocutionis Imitatione* (Paris, Colinæus, 1537), p. 61. Omphalius and Dolet were now on terms of intimacy. A letter addressed to Dolet appears among the *Epistolæ ad familiares* of Omphalius, which his son Bernard appended to the edition he gave of the *De Elocutionis Imitatione* (Coloniæ, 1572, reprinted 1602).

[3] Preface to his edition of the *Phrases et Formulæ*.

second volume of the *Commentaries*, under the title of *Formulæ Latinarum locutionum illustriorum*,[1] and which has been sometimes erroneously referred to as intended to be the first part of the third volume of the *Commentaries*. It is however a collection of phrases and idioms extracted for the most part from the *Commentaries*, but with some additions, arranged alphabetically. Dolet tells us in his preface that he had received numerous letters, asking him to prepare a work such as this, taken from his *Commentaries*, for the use of young students, and he accordingly had complied with the request.

It consists of a series of substantives (and a few adjectives used as substantives), with brief explanations and occasional illustrations, followed in each case by a list of the verbs and sometimes the adjectives or other parts of speech used (principally by Cicero) in conjunction with them. That the book had any immediate success is not probable; it is not referred to by any writer, so far as I know, for a quarter of a century after its appearance. A very small number of copies were printed, and no new edition was called for in the author's lifetime. In 1576 however Sturm reprinted it under the title of *Phrases et Formulæ Linguæ Latinæ elegantiores Stephano Doleto autore nunc denuo recognitæ* (Strasburg, Rihel). Coming with Sturm's recommendation it had a great success, and acquired a popularity which it retained up to the nineteenth century. New editions appeared in 1580, 1585, 1596, and 1610. A certain *Barezzi*,[2] struck

[1] Folio, Lugd., apud Doletum, 1539. The title-page announces three parts. *Prima pars conflatas ex nomine et verbo locutiones habet. Secunda significationem et constructionem verborum profert. Tertia, usum particularum indeclinabilium demonstrat.* The volume however only contains the first part. The second and third never appeared.

[2] In the *editio Baretiana* of the *Lexicon Ciceronianum* [or *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*] of Nizolius. (Venice, 1606.)

with the merits of the book, in order to increase the reputation of Nizolius and his *Lexicon Ciceronianum*, impudently passed off the *Phrases et Formulæ* as part of the original work of Nizolius. It was reserved for Facciolati in his edition of the *Lexicon* given in 1734 to restore the work of Dolet to its true author. As revised and corrected by him it is appended to his edition, and fills the same place in the only subsequent edition which I know, that of London, 1820.[1]

Only a year after the publication of the first volume of the *Commentaries* an epitome of it was printed at Basle (at the press of Lasius and Platter, but without their names), composed by a scholar under the *nom de plume* of Jonas Philomusus.[2] He speaks of Dolet as 'vir nostra quidem

[1] In 1753, and again in 1764, Father Alessandro Bandiera printed the *Phrases et Formulæ Linguæ Latinæ* of Dolet at the end of his volume, *Osservazioni su le epistole di Marco Tullio Cicerone a familiari* (Venezia, Bettinelli), which forms a supplement to his Italian translation of the *Epistolæ Familiares*. By an error (apparently of the printer) in the edition of 1764 (that of 1753 I have not seen) the observations of the learned Father are also headed '*Formulæ Linguæ Latinæ elegantiores Stephani Doleti*,' and this is the running title throughout. In the edition of the same translation of 1783, the *Formulæ* of Dolet are mentioned in the title as included, but in fact the observations of Bandiera are alone given at the end of the third volume as the *Formulæ Doleti*, while Dolet's actual treatise is omitted. (According to Née de la Rochelle, *Vie de Dolet*, p. 105, the running title of the edition of 1753 attributes the *Formulæ* of Dolet to Bandiera.)

[2] Barbier (*Anonymes*, 20060 and 20366, and *Les Supercheries Littéraires*, 2nd edition, vol. ii. 417) comes to the conclusion that the scholar who under the *nom de plume* of Jonas Philomusus composed the epitome of the first volume of the *Commentaries* of Dolet was no other than J. Gonthier of Andernach. Née de la Rochelle had before suggested from the similarity of the names that Jonas Philomusus was probably the same with Jonas Philologus, who about the same time printed at Basle at the press of Winter an epitome of Quintilian. L. T. Hérissant having conjectured, on very slight grounds, that Jonas Philologus was Gonthier of Andernach, Barbier then adopts the two conjectures and adds that there

ætate citra controversiam doctissimus et de re Latina non male meritus.' He tells us that he has undertaken the work as an assistance to the memory of students, that he has inserted nothing of his own, but has only taken as it were a faggot from the forest of the author, a small coin from his heap of wealth. The epitomist has arranged his abridgment in alphabetical order, as more convenient for students than that adopted by Dolet, whose arrangement however is preserved in a second part, which simply gives the words employed, in the order in which they appear in the *Commentaries*.

Soon after the second volume of the *Commentaries* was published, an epitome of it appeared (in 1539) at Basle, but from the press of Westheim, and clearly the work of another hand. It preserves strictly the arrangement and order of Dolet, and was shortly followed by an epitome of the first

was a natural relation between the epitome of Quintilian and the epitome of Dolet, and that a young professor as zealous as Gonthier might well occupy himself with these two abridgments. Any one however, who is acquainted with the life and writings of Gonthier, will consider it highly improbable that he should have composed the epitome of the first volume of the *Commentaries* of Dolet. In 1537 the 'young professor' was fifty years old, and wholly immersed in medical studies. Of the thirty-one printed works and two manuscripts which are enumerated in *La France Protestante* as having been written by him, all with the exception of the first, which was printed in 1527, are medical; and the single ground upon which Hérissant and Barbier conceive him to have been the Jonas Philologus who abridged Quintilian is that to the second edition of his translation of some writings of Galen printed at Basle in 1537 is added *Definitiones Medicinales interprete Joanne Philologo*. In 1540 there was printed at Paris at the press of Colines, *Jonæ Philologi Dialogi aliquot lepidi ac festivi in studiosæ juventutis informationem* (of which I possess the copy of Girardot de Préfond), and this, if the conjectures were well founded, would probably have to be added to the works of Gonthier. It is however difficult to see any reason why Gonthier if he had composed these books should have printed them under a pseudonym.

volume, arranged on the same principle, and by the same author as that of the second.[1]

[1] Not a single writer who has noticed the epitomes of the *Commentaries* printed in 1537, 1539, and 1540 has taken the trouble to look beyond the title-pages, or has noticed that the epitome of the first volume printed in 1540 is an entirely different work from the epitome of the same volume printed in 1537. The erroneous description of Gesner has been copied by his successors, and Maittaire, Née de la Rochelle, Barbier, Brunet, and Boulmier have all treated the epitome of 1540 as a reprint of the volume of 1537.

CHAPTER XII

The Charge of Plagiarism

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.
LUCRETIUS.

Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid hæret.
BACON.

IF the *Commentaries* did not meet with that enthusiastic reception which their author expected, and which their real merits certainly deserved —at least in an age which worshipped, however ignorantly, Latin scholarship, yet produced so few books really calculated to promote it intelligently—they drew upon their author a serious charge, that of plagiarism, which has ever since clung to him, and has tarnished, though I think unjustly, his reputation. Scarcely any of the many critics, biographers, and bibliographers who have noticed the *Commentaries* have

omitted to state that their author was reported to have borrowed very much without acknowledgment from Robert Estienne, Nizolius, Lazarus Baif, and others. This charge is generally given on the authority of Thomasius, who, in his treatise *De Plagio Literario*,[1] collected the charges of plagiarism made against Dolet. But they are not his own, and are merely taken by him from other writers.

Even before the *Commentaries* had appeared, and whilst Dolet was known to be engaged upon them, a report was, as we have seen, circulated by his enemies that he had stolen the papers of Simon Villanovanus and had based his *Commentaries* upon them.[2] Whether there was any foundation for this report we do not know. It may indeed be that some of the papers of Villanovanus, an enthusiastic Ciceronian, had fallen into the hands of Dolet; but the charge of theft appears to have been mere rumour, and had certainly not come to the ears of Charles Estienne or Floridus Sabinus, from whom the really important charges came, and who would not have failed to notice this report had they heard it; yet it was known to Rabelais, who repeated it in an epistle written in 1542 (hereafter quoted at length). He says, 'L'esprit de Villanovanus se indigne destre de ses labeurs frustré.'

On the 1st of November 1536, as Dolet was occupied in superintending the publication of the second volume of his *Commentaries*, he received from Christopher Richer of

[1] Suobaci, 1692.

[2] See *ante*, p. 240. One of G. Ducher's *Epigrammata* (Lugd., 1538) directed against Dolet, whom he styles, as in several other bitter epigrams, *Durus*, ends thus:—

> Ut vero folium modo Sibyllæ
> Narrem, docti animam arbitrantur illum
> Nostri Villanovani habere: *cujus*
> *Defuncti sibi scripta vendicavit*,
> Fur nequam, plagiariusque summus.

Thorigny,[1] the common friend of himself and Lazarus Baif, a copy of the latter's work *De re Navali*, which, with other tracts of the same author, had just issued from the press of Robert Estienne, under the editorship of his brother Charles. It so happened that the sheets of the *Commentaries* containing the words relating to naval affairs were just then printed, and Dolet was engaged on their correction. He sent these sheets to Richer, at the same time thanking him for the work of Baif. Richer forwarded them to Baif himself. Charles Estienne, who was then or soon after became the tutor of Lazarus Baif's more celebrated son[2] Jean Antoine, was on terms of the greatest intimacy with Lazarus, of whose treatises *De Vasculis* and *De re Vestiaria* he had already published abridgments. Whether he was already preparing an abridgment of the work *De re Navali*, or whether he was incited thereto by the sheets of the *Commentaries*, is uncertain. What is certain is that very shortly afterwards, early in the year 1537, there appeared from the press of Francis Estienne an abridgment of Baif's treatise written by Charles Estienne.[3] In this book he distinctly charges Dolet with having stolen without acknowledgment considerable

[1] Christopher Richer was valet-de-chambre to Francis I. and author of a treatise *De rebus Turcorum*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1540. About the same time he translated into French and printed at the same press the second book of his treatise, under the title of *Des Coustumes et Manière de Vivre des Turcs*. See La Croix du Maine and Brunet's *Manuel*.

[2] Née de la Rochelle (followed as usual by Boulmier) erroneously speaks of Lazarus Baif, the author of *De re Navali*, as the pupil of Charles Estienne.

[3] *De re Navali libellus in adolescentulorum bonorum favorem, ex Baysii vigiliis excerptus et in brevem summulam facilitatis gratia redactus. Addita ubique puerorum causa vulgari vocabulorum significatione.* Parisiis, apud Franciscum Stephanum, MDXXXVII. This, like the abridgments of the *De re Vestiaria* and *De Vasculis*, immediately became very popular, and was frequently reprinted by R. Estienne, S. Gryphius, and others, in the following twenty years.

portions of the treatise of Baif, only altering here and there a word so that the theft might not be so easily discovered, and he further attempts to show that where Dolet had not closely followed the language of Baif he had displayed great ignorance and had fallen into absurd blunders.

No specific passages are cited by Charles Estienne in support of the charge of plagiarism. Of the ignorance and errors of Dolet he gives six instances, alleging that he has taken *cornua* for parts of the mast, that he has ascribed to Cæsar a passage of which Hirtius is the author, that he erroneously explains *remulcus* as a small boat, that he gives a non-existing word, *remeculum*, as a kind of boat used by the Lemnians, that he uses *embatæ* instead of *epibatæ* and attributes to Pliny a passage where the word occurs, which is really from Ulpian, and lastly, that he has quoted a line from the Æneid as—

'Quot prius æratæ steterant in littore *proræ*,'[1]

while, as Estienne contends, the true reading of the last word is *puppes*.

The misfortunes of Dolet caused as we have seen the second volume of the *Commentaries* to be long delayed, and the book of Charles Estienne appeared while the *Commentaries* were still incomplete. Dolet lost no time in replying to his opponent. He immediately printed in a separate volume the whole of the sheets of the *Commentaries* relating to naval affairs, under the title of *Stephani Doleti de re Navali liber ad Lazarum Bayfium*.[2] This was prefaced by a letter to Baif containing an elaborate and tolerably successful defence, in which he complains most bitterly, and with all that violence of language which he was accustomed to use, of the conduct of Charles Estienne, whose ability however in the early part of the preface he fully recognises, but upon

[1] *Æneid*, ix. 121. [2] Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium, 1537.

whom he pours all the vials of his wrath, professing or desiring to believe that the attack had been made without the suggestion of Baif.

Étienne Dolet to Lazarus Baif

'It grieves me extremely that you, to whom I have always both shown and felt the utmost respect, should suddenly and without any cause be so incensed against me as to wish hostilely to set in motion (should I rather say to encourage or impel?) another to attack my reputation. It also grieves me very greatly that, instead of attacking me openly in your own name, you should have chosen as your champion one of whom I had the highest opinion, and of whom I have been accustomed everywhere to speak in the most respectful terms. But yet I would not believe anything against you rashly, and I would rather persuade myself that he of his own accord sought an opportunity of attacking me, and that you were neither the encourager nor the instigator of such bitter calumnies. I have a better opinion as well of your prudence, as of your gravity, your moderation, and your equity, than to suspect you of any ill-will or evil disposition towards me. I therefore exonerate you from the suspicion of hatred or malevolence, and am willing that the matter be left to your own decision. Do you therefore sit as judge, and I will proceed to a statement of the facts, in order that, when you have heard the cause, you may most clearly and certainly, either pronounce judgment in my favour or may decide for my opponent. The matter is so clear that it may soon be told without any pretence of oratorical art, or any too great nicety of language.

'In the year from the pregnancy of the Virgin, or (not to give a handle for the calumny of the calumniator) from the crucifixion of Christ 1536, on the 1st of November, as I

was at Lyons devoting all my time and attention to the publication of the second volume of my *Commentaries*, your book *De re Navali* was sent to me by Christopher Richer, a most learned man, and one full of kindness and courtesy. It so happened that the sheets of my *Commentaries* containing the words relating to naval affairs were just then being printed. This specially induced me to read your book through with more than ordinary diligence and care. I made myself master of it. (I use this expression to indicate the attention I paid to it.) In reading it attentively I did not notice anything in which you and I either treated of or explained the same things, except the different species of ships and their several names. Then that I might show my gratitude to Richer, I straightway sent him the third and fourth folios of the sheets then being printed, which, though I did not ask him to do, he told me he would send to you the first opportunity. I said there was no reason why he should not do so. The folios were as I know sent to you not long afterwards. Here then would be the occasion for me to fancy, first that you felt indignant that I should have ventured to write on the same subject which you had treated, then that your champion, who has so unworthily attacked me with such bitter words, arose at your command (just as one wholly devoted to your will would do), ordered by you to find as many faults as possible in Dolet, a young man of too great boldness (addressing you as a judge whom I hope to find both just and favourable, I do not venture to say also of very great hope and promise), so as to lessen his rising reputation. Here then I say is the favourable opportunity for me to say these things with an air of probability, but I have forbidden myself the use of such prejudicial statements by the opinion I have before expressed of your integrity and moderation. Wherefore I will only say what I suspect and what I am satisfied to believe.

'This champion, who is not so powerful as he is insolent, visited you on a certain day; sitting in your library and chatting familiarly with you (I cannot do the man more honour than by representing him as being on such familiar terms with you), he secretly lays hold of and carries off with him the pages of my book, having previously conceived some ill-will towards me. What follows? He is then preparing, either by your direction or with your sanction, his epitome of your treatise *De re Navali*. Burning with ill-will towards me (for how else can I account for the wicked attacks of the fellow, who had not been excited by any injury done by me?), he marked in the proof-sheet of my work whatever seemed to him to afford an opportunity of reviling me. Now, I pray, give me your attention, and if you are disposed to do so, act fairly towards me as to the matter animadverted upon by him which he puts forward against me so angrily. Was this done courteously or honourably? Was it worthy of a man of probity and culture, so inconsiderately, so insolently even, to attack what had been courteously sent by a friend to you, and was not even published? Even now I am superintending the publication of the volume. Here I might as easily attack the wickedness of your champion (but I am forgetting that you have laid aside your suspicions; I ought to say your *epitomist*) as laugh at his folly. But must I not treat as an imprudent fool one who, rushing headlong with a rash and inconsiderate mind, did not see that as my book was not yet published it would be possible for me to change all that he blamed, and to take the benefit of his criticisms, and so procure for him the reputation of a false and lying critic?'

After complaining bitterly of the attack made upon his book before it had actually appeared, he proceeds *seriatim* to discuss the several charges made by Charles Estienne, printing in full the references made to him and to his book

in that of his adversary. So far as the charge of plagiarism goes, he denies that any similarity will be found between the two works, except in the case of a few interpretations of the names of ships, and their different parts. He asserts the entire independence of his own work, but says reasonably enough, that in writing such works as Dictionaries, it is inevitable that the labours of those who have gone before should be made use of, and if a charge of theft is to be made against his *Commentaries*, the same charge must be made against Budé, Erasmus, Politian, Rhodiginus, Volaterranus, Sypontinus, and many others. He then proceeds in detail to notice and defend himself from the several charges of error made against him. He defends *remeculum* as a word used by Aulus Gellius, and given both by Robert Estienne in his *Thesaurus*, and by Sypontinus (Nicolas Perottus) in his *Cornucopia*. He cites the editions of Virgil printed by Aldus, Colines, Robert Estienne, and Sebastian Gryphius, as reading *proræ* and not *puppes*. He has followed Budé in writing *embatæ*, and the words attributed by him to Pliny had been ascribed to this author by Robert Estienne. He alleges the practice of referring to Cæsar the writings of Hirtius. As to *remulcus*, if his defence is not successful on the merits, he at least shows that Robert Estienne gives the same meaning.

His defence from the charge of plagiarism as made by Charles Estienne is I think complete and satisfactory. No one can compare Dolet's work *De re Navali* (or the pages of the *Commentary*, of which it is merely a reprint) with the work of Baif bearing the same title, without being satisfied that they are two entirely independent works, with no more similarity than would necessarily occur in two books on the same subject, and that it is altogether unfair to charge Dolet with pillaging or plagiarising Baif. In fact, Dolet showed his own *bona fides* by printing in their entirety in the preface

to his own book every passage of that of Charles Estienne which refers to him.[1]

It is pleasant to know that on this occasion Dolet did not allow his indignation against Charles Estienne to prevent him from doing justice to his literary merits. In the second volume of the *Commentaries*, under the word 'Hortus,' he thus expresses himself: 'In treating of matters relating to gardens and trees I shall make much use of the singular and praiseworthy diligence and erudition of that most learned man Charles Estienne. He has lately printed two short treatises of which he may justly be proud, one upon gardens, the other upon trees. In these you will easily discern, as well the sagacious zeal of the author, as his intense desire of contributing something to the common utility, and to the instruction of youth.'[2]

Dolet's treatise *De re Navali* was printed in May 1537. In 1540, after the publication of the second volume of the *Commentaries*, a new and more formidable accuser appeared in the person of Franciscus Floridus Sabinus. Born at Donadeo in the Sabine territory about the year 1500, he assumed his surname from his native district. After studying at the University of Bologna, he remained there for some years as a professor or teacher, visiting Venice occasionally, where he not improbably assisted in editing or correcting for the press of Paul Manutius. For six years, two at Rome and four at Paris, he lived with Albertus Pius, Prince of Carpi, as his private secretary. Strongly attached to his

[1] Except a few words referring to his use of the word *cornua*, which he seems to have overlooked.

[2] 2 *Com.* 242. This sheet may possibly have been printed before Dolet heard of the attack of C. Estienne; but it was not published until a year later, and it is to Dolet's credit that he allowed the passage to remain, and that nowhere in the book (of which the greater part was certainly not printed) is there a word in disparagement of Charles Estienne.

master, he warmly resented what he considered the unjust attack of Erasmus on the Prince. Yet his affection for his friend did not blind him to the merits of the great scholar, and it was with much indignation that he read Dolet's attack upon him in the dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*. His first work however was directed against the calumniators of Plautus and the Latin tongue.[1] In this book, printed it will be observed after the publication of the first volume of the *Commentaries*, and in which he enumerates most of his contemporaries whose writings have in his judgment contributed to the knowledge of the Latin tongue, the name of Dolet is conspicuous by its absence. Whether he had any personal acquaintance or personal quarrel with Dolet we do not know. Certain it is, that he was on intimate terms with Giulio Camillo, to whom he more than once refers in his writings as '*doctissimus vir*,' and whom in his *Lectiones Succisivæ* he warmly defends from the attacks of Dolet.

In 1540 he published his *Lectiones Succisivæ*, a collection of literary and critical remarks on a variety of subjects and authors, after the manner of the *Noctes Atticæ* of Aulus Gellius. It is the work of a man of extensive reading and of considerable scholarship, both Greek and Latin, and is full of judicious and sometimes acute criticisms. It was thought worthy of being reprinted by Gruter in his *Lampas sive Fax Artium Liberalium* (7 vols., Francfort, 1602–1634). Nearly the whole of chapters ii. and iii. of the first book and a part of chapter iv. of the third book (about a tenth part of the entire work) are directed against Dolet, and are written with a bitterness and violence of tone and an injustice which

[1] *Francisci Floridi Sabini Apologia in Marci Actii Plauti aliorumque Poetarum et linguæ latinæ calumniatores. Ejusdem libellus de legum commentatoribus.* Lugduni, Seb. Gryphium, 1537, 4to. This was afterwards much enlarged and reprinted in the collected edition of the author's works printed at Basle in 1540.

are altogether wanting in the author's censures of other writers, and which certainly induce one to think that some personal motive operated with Floridus. Dolet is charged with plagiarism, ignorance, irreligion, immorality and gluttony.

The greatest part of the attack is directed against the dialogue *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*, and refers to the manner in which Dolet had treated Erasmus; and here I do not know that we ought to consider the censure as too severe. In reference to the *Commentaries*, however, he repeats and amplifies the charge of plagiarism which Charles Estienne had started; but the only specific instances which he adduces are the explanation of the word *remulcus* and the erroneous citation from Pliny (instead of Ulpian), both of which Dolet seems to have taken from the *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne, not only without acknowledgment, but without verifying Estienne's references. He asserts that the *Commentaries* are compiled, but without any acknowledgment, from the works of Nizolius, Robert Estienne, Riccius, and Calepinus, and he starts the calumny—often since repeated—that those who had seen the *Commentaries* in manuscript before the appearance of the *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne and the *Observations on Cicero* of Nizolius had informed him that they would not have made a volume larger than the *Elegantiæ* of Laurentius Valla, a very thin folio. Yet Floridus adduces no proofs of this alleged compilation; he confines himself both for instances of plagiarism and of ignorance to the passages cited either by Charles Estienne, or by Dolet in his reply; and though he had certainly seen the *Commentaries*, as he quotes for the purpose of generally vilifying Dolet one or two other passages of the first volume, he had as certainly not studied them. The charges of Charles Estienne however he amplifies at length, and no doubt proves clearly enough that as to the meaning of *remulcus* Dolet was entirely wrong, and that in at least two instances he had borrowed quotations of Latin

authors from Baif or from Robert Estienne without acknowledgment, and without verifying the references.

But a more serious charge than that of plagiarism and ignorance was for the first time formulated in print, though not then for the first time made against Dolet, by Floridus, that of impiety, and disbelief in the immortality of the soul, which in those days was called Atheism. The correspondence of Jean de Boyssone leaves us in little doubt that reports to this effect had circulated at Toulouse, and the letter of Odonus lets us know that the same rumours were current at Lyons, but they appeared in print for the first time in the *Lectiones Succisivæ*. 'This fellow,' says Franciscus Floridus, 'asserts the soul to be mortal, and the highest good to consist in bodily pleasure.' But he cites no passage of any of Dolet's writings, nor any other authority for this assertion.

More than thirty years afterwards a new charge against Dolet of plagiarism from Navagero is reported by Sturm, on whose authority we do not know. The utter groundlessness of this charge I have shown :[1] but with the remark of Sturm which accompanies it I think all will agree. 'To me,' he says, 'it is a matter of no importance whence Dolet derived his *Commentaries*; they have been of great use to those who cultivate Latin composition and love good literature, and I can only wish, that either Dolet or Navagero or any one else had been able to complete them ; in that case we should have had a complete and exhaustive treatise on the Latin tongue most skilfully composed and arranged.'[2]

Dolet was not the man to sit down quietly under an attack such as that of Floridus. He replied to it in 1540 by his book *De Imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Floridum*

[1] See *ante*, p. 45.

[2] Sturm's preface to his edition of the *Phrases et Formulæ Doleti*, Argentorati, 1576. A large part of this preface is quoted by Maittaire, *Annales Typ.* iii. 78.

Sabinum.[1] It is a quarto of fifty-six pages, dedicated to Guillaume Bigot, and contains two distinct treatises, the first and much the shorter being the tract *De Imitatione Ciceroniana:* the second (occupying pp. 21-55) being entitled *Responsio ad convitia Floridi Sabini*. The first, with the exception of a page at the beginning and another at the end, is simply a series of extracts from his *Dialogue* on the same subject containing his argument concerning imitation. Here, as in his *De re Navali*, he desired his readers to be put fully in possession of what he had really written, in order that they might judge how far the attack of his opponent was justified. The second tract (the *Responsio ad convitia*) cannot be better summed up than in the words of Née de la Rochelle :[2] 'In the second treatise, which he has divided into two parts, he discusses in the first part the style of his adversary, his own, that of Erasmus, Longolius, and the Germans ; he cites Budé, Bembo, and Sadolet, and sharply repels all the calumnies and abominable charges of Sabinus : then he employs the second part of the same tract in defending himself from the charge of plagiarism, and he terminates the volume by a series of epigrams against his antagonist, characterised, as Maittaire has remarked, rather by their rancour than by their elegance.' With the exception of the abuse of Floridus, with which of course the book is stuffed full, there is very little original matter in it. Dolet defends himself, and successfully, from the charges made by his opponent of being irreligious and a gourmand, and of having discouraged the study of Terence and Virgil. The book is however chiefly composed of extracts from his other works. The

[1] Brunet (*Manuel*, art. Sabinus) erroneously says that this book is an answer to the *Apologia in M. A. Plauti calumniatores* of Sabinus. It is an answer to the *Lectiones Succisivæ*. The *Apologia* contains no mention of or reference to Dolet.

[2] *Vie de Dolet*, p. 41.

abuse is of the usual violent kind, and only deserves notice as to one point. Endeavouring to turn the tables on his adversary, Dolet charges him with having appropriated a work of the Prince of Carpi, *De C. Julii Cæsaris præstantia*, and having published it under his own name.[1]

Floridus lost no time in defending himself and replying to the attack of Dolet. The book of the latter had appeared in October or November 1540. By the first of February 1541, Floridus had finished his reply, which appeared at Rome from the press of Bladus in the month of May in the same year. Its title is *Francisci Floridi Sabini adversus Stephani Doleti Aurelii calumnias*.[2]

It is dedicated to Cardinal Alexander Farnese, and consists to a great extent of a repetition of the charges contained in the *Lectiones Succisivæ*. The unfortunate explanation of 'remulcus' is again held up to ridicule, and adduced as a proof of the crass ignorance of Dolet. His *Commentaries* are declared to have owed whatever slight success they had met with to the fact of their having been printed by 'that most respected man Sebastian Gryphius.' The charges of impiety are repeated; the homicide, of which I shall hereafter speak, is made out to be a murder of peculiar atrocity, and, as was to be expected, Floridus takes considerable pains to defend himself from the charge of having appropriated the work of the Prince of Carpi.[3]

Dolet's religious opinions, and the charges made against

[1] Dolet, *De Imit. Cic. adv. F. Sabinum*, p. 53.

[2] The book is of great rarity. There is a copy however in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Two copies were in the Sunderland sale, one of which is now in my possession.

[3] Franciscus Floridus Sabinus died in 1547. Besides being a scholar he seems to have been a *bibliophile* of taste. Books from his library are occasionally to be met with, bound in contemporary Italian morocco tooled and stamped with the title of the book in gold on the upper side and the name of F. Floridus on the under side. I possess five of such

him in reference to them, will form the subject of a subsequent chapter, it is only with the charge of plagiarism that we have here to do. None of those who since the days of Floridus have repeated the charge, and none of Dolet's defenders, seem to have taken the trouble to ascertain, by comparing the *Commentaries* with the works from which it is alleged they are taken, whether to any, and if so to what extent, the charge is true. I have myself undertaken, not indeed an exhaustive comparison, but a comparison of a large number of pages of the *Commentaries* taken at random, with the articles of R. Estienne, Nizolius, Riccius, and Calepinus, treating of the same words, and I have arrived at the conclusion that the charge is not justified, and that although it is evident that Dolet was well acquainted with the works of these writers, yet that he has only rarely borrowed anything from any of them, that he has not made more use of them than (as he himself says) is inevitable for a writer of such books as Dictionaries and Commentaries to make of the labours of his predecessors, that the *Commentaries* is a substantially independent and original work, and that the author is no more open to the charge of borrowing from others than are Robert Estienne, Nizolius, and Calepinus. The only edition of the *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne which had appeared before the first volume of the *Commentaries* was that of 1532, a thin folio containing less than half the quantity of matter contained in Dolet's volume, and it seems probable that Floridus or his informants believed (erroneously) that the second edition of the *Thesaurus* had been published some time before the first volume of the *Commentaries*. In fact the first volume of Dolet's work appeared six months before the second edition of the *Thesaurus* of Estienne.

volumes—the Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza (In æd. Aldi, 1525), *Josephi Opera*, 3 vols. (S. Gryphius, 1539), and *Gelosia del Sole* of Britonio di Sicignano (Sessa, 1531).

In one respect however we cannot entirely exonerate Dolet. A considerable number of the passages cited in the *Commentaries* are the same as those cited in the books of Estienne, Riccius, and Nizolius; a few are certainly borrowed from them, without the references being verified, leading to the belief that others may also have been so, and certainly some of the explanations are clearly based on those of the *Thesaurus* and the *Observationes*.[1] But in the first volume there is no word of acknowledgment of these learned men, nor anything to intimate that Dolet had profited to any extent by their works. Robert Estienne is only mentioned as an accurate printer, and Riccius and Nizolius are only referred to in the passage before quoted. A single acknowledgment of the benefit he had derived from a perusal of these and other works would have sufficed; but this his vainglorious nature did not allow him to give, and he has thus laid himself open to a charge which is substantially groundless. In his second volume, having learned wisdom by experience, he is less grudging in his praise of other scholars, and at least makes mention of the Dictionaries of Robert Estienne, Nizolius, and Calepinus.

[1] I have not noticed any explanation taken from Riccius. An edition of his work *Apparatus Latinæ locutionis* was given by Gryphius in 1534, and may possibly have been seen through the press by Dolet.

CHAPTER XIII

Work and Leisure

Many a green isle needs must be
In the deep wide sea of misery.
Shelley.

O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt !
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.
Horace.

HE publication of the *Commentaries* and the attacks and quarrels to which they gave rise have led us on to the year 1541; we must now return to 1536. The eight months which followed the appearance of the first volume passed almost without incident, yet they were certainly months of hard and incessant work. Dolet occupied himself chiefly, as we have seen, in completing and printing the second volume, but it is certain that at the same time he was a diligent student, and was then preparing some of the numerous books

which he was shortly afterwards to produce and print; and at least one book published during this period, probably edited and certainly partly composed by Dolet, must not be passed over in silence, especially as it has hitherto escaped the notice of all his biographers. On the 10th of August 1536 the young Dauphin died at Tournon, from the effects as it seems of a glass of iced water, which he had imprudently drunk at Lyons four days before. His death as was usual was attributed to poison, and Sebastian Montecuculi was executed for the imaginary crime. A small volume of poems (in Latin and French), entitled *Recueil de vers Latins et vulgaires de plusieurs poëtes Francoys composés sur le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin* (and which includes epitaphs by Marot, St. Gelais, and Macrin), was published three months afterwards at Lyons by François Juste, under the editorship, as I conjecture, of Dolet. The prefatory note is written in his style, and the first ode in the book, addressed by him to the poets of France, is in fact a poetical preface to the entire work. The book also contains three other pieces by him.[1]

It is probable indeed that Dolet at this time was working for François Juste, as well as for Gryphius. His duties to the two printers would in no way clash. Juste was pre-

[1] The greater part of this volume is made up of the compositions of Dolet and his friends. Among the contributors were Voulté, the two Scèves (Maurice and Guillaume), Marot, N. Bourbon, Jean des Gouttes (Janus Guttanus), Pierre Duchâtel, Claude Fournier, J. Canappe, and A. du Moulin. Their compositions with those of Dolet occupy twenty-one out of the thirty-six pages of which the book consists, the remainder being taken up by odes of S. Macrin, Mellin de St. Gelais, Gilbert Ducher, Guillaume Mellier, H. Appianus, P. Piochetus, J. Gagnius, Lateranus, and C. Elvamus. The four last named are wholly unknown to me, and I know nothing of Appianus except Dolet's reference to him in the first volume of the *Commentaries* (col. 1157). Macrin was certainly a friend of Dolet at a later period, but I am not certain whether they were at this time personally known to each other.

eminently the printer of French books, while Gryphius confined himself almost entirely to Latin. That the learned printer looked down, if not with contempt, at least as from a lofty eminence, with a consciousness of superiority upon the Justes, the Nourrys, and the Arnollets, who printed in the vernacular the light and popular literature of the day, is certain, and there could be no feeling of rivalry between him and them. The only French book which Gryphius had as yet condescended to print (except perhaps the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated by Clément Marot)[1]—the *Arrêts d'Amour* of Martial de Paris—was accompanied by an elaborate Latin Commentary of Benoît Court, which probably alone commended it to the learned printer. The Père de Colonia[2] tells us that Benoît Court wrote three works, the first a Latin Commentary on the *Arrêts d'Amour*, 'a frivolous work if ever there was one, which certainly did not deserve to have had for its printer the celebrated Sebastian Gryphius'; and Pernetti[3] speaks of it in almost the same terms as 'a frivolous work, the greatest merit of which has been to have for its printer the celebrated Sebastian Gryphius.' On the other hand, both writers agree that 'the third work of Benoît Court would alone have sufficed to immortalise its author.' It is the natural history of trees and gardens. But the whirligig of time brings its revenges. The Latin classics of S. Gryphius have long since descended into the limbo of 'old books,' and will be sought for in vain in the catalogues of Fontaine, Bachelin-Deflorenne, or Quaritch, but the few

[1] An edition of the first book of the *Métamorphose d'Ovide translaté en français*, by Marot, was printed by Gryphius without date, and is cited by Brunet as 'vers 1533.' But M. Guiffrey, *Œuvres de C. Marot*, ii. 261, 262, makes no mention of it, and states that he knows no impression of the first book of the *Métamorphose* earlier than the edition given by Roffet in 1534. That of Gryphius probably appeared soon afterwards.

[2] *Hist. Lit. de Lyon*, ii. 475.

[3] *Les Lyonnais dignes de Mémoire*, i. 329.

French books printed by him are still eagerly sought for, and his three editions of the *Arrêts d'Amour*, with the Commentaries of Benoît Court, are among the few publications of his press which always find purchasers, and not unfrequently readers. The immortality conferred on Benoît Court by the natural history of trees has proved but short-lived; the Commentaries on the *Arrêts d'Amour* are admired by jurists for their learning and research, by men of letters for their entertaining though possibly unintentional badinage, and have been reprinted at least eight times.

Nor is the contrast less striking between the books of Gryphius on the one hand, and those of Juste or Nourry on the other. The learned Latin works printed by the former can now hardly find purchasers, while a French romance or poem with the name of Juste or Nourry on the title-page never fails to find eager competitors for its possession at 100, 1000, or even 2000 francs.[1] For François Juste, Dolet in 1538 undertook to revise and edit a French translation of one of the most popular books of the day—the *Cortegiano* of Baldasar Castiglione. Few books were more to the taste of the sixteenth century. First printed by Aldus in 1528, no less than thirteen editions of it appeared in Italy in the next twenty years. Shortly after its first publication it was translated into French by Jacques Colin, and printed at Paris. But according to Dolet, this translation is full of faults which he and Mellin de St. Gelais noted and corrected, and, so revised, the translation was printed by François Juste in 1538, with a preface by Dolet addressed to St. Gelais, in which he claims for the book the benefit of the privilege which had just been granted to him by the King. At the end there is a dedication from François Juste to 'Monseigneur Monsieur Du Peirat, Lieutenant General pour le Roy a Lyon,' written

[1] The *Adolescence Clémentine*, Juste, 1534, sold for 1800 francs, and *Ogier le Danoys*, Nourry, 1525, for 2200 francs at the Yemeniz sale.

in Dolet's style, and commenting on the badness of the edition printed at Paris, 'by the fault of the printer as it is easy to see.' In this edition he says he has made use of the labours of 'Monsieur maistre Estienne Dolet pour certain en litérature, éloquence, et scavoir une des principales lumières de France.' I have however carefully compared this edition of Juste with that printed by Longis and Harsy without date but probably in 1537 or earlier, and I find this latter much better printed both as to type and paper than that of Juste, which is very slightly altered from it.[1]

A third printer for whom we find Dolet working at this time was Scipio de Gabiano, for whom in 1538 he edited *Le Guydon des Practiciens*, a book of legal practice, which soon became very popular among the notaries and advocates of the day. A short preface addressed by him to the reader is in his usual manner. It is 'his affection and good-will to the common weal that has induced him to give to the world a work which he has found to be useful and profitable.' The labour of seeing through the press a book of nearly nine hundred closely printed pages of Gothic type must have been considerable, but Dolet's editorial labours seem confined to the short preface and the correction of the press.

But though Dolet 'scorned delights and lived laborious days,' he was by no means an anchorite or an ascetic. No man more thoroughly enjoyed the society of literary men, nor was he averse in moderation to the pleasures of the table. He was poor, not because he saw any merit in poverty, but because he loved learning better than wealth. He despised all the ascetic virtues, even while to a certain extent he followed some of them. Poverty, chastity, humility, obedience, indolent solitude, self-inflicted pain, were in themselves no virtues to him, any more than they were to Aristotle, Plato,

[1] See as to this edition of Juste, M. Yemeniz's note in the catalogue of his books, No. 553.

or Cicero, any more than they were to Luther or Erasmus, to Bembo or Rabelais. But there was one thing he more especially enjoyed, and which shows him to us in an unexpected light. He was devotedly fond of music. 'Music and harmony,' he tells us,[1] 'are my sole enjoyments. What is there more suited either for exciting or soothing the mind, what more fitted for allaying or extinguishing, or even for rousing indignation? What is there more efficacious for refreshing the jaded spirits of men of letters? I care nothing for the pleasures of the table, of wine, of gaming, of love,—at least I use them all in great moderation. But not so as regards music, which alone of all pleasures takes me captive, retains me, and dissolves me in ecstasy. To it I owe my life itself; to it I owe all the success of my literary efforts. Be assured of this, that I could never have supported the incessant, immense, endless labour of compiling these *Commentaries* unless by the power of music I had sometimes been soothed, sometimes incited to fresh efforts, sometimes recalled from that weariness which has made me for a time lay aside my *Commentaries*.'

Another source of great enjoyment to him at this time was bathing and swimming. He tells us of his proficiency in the latter art, and that his favourite place for indulging in it was near the church of St. Laurence, at the junction of the Rhône and the Saône.[2]

But his studies and pleasures did not render him unmindful of the duties of friendship. He continued to correspond with Jean de Boyssone, and was able to repay some of the services which he had received from the professor of law. Dolet's banishment from Toulouse had not had the effect of allaying the disputes between the students (especially those of the French nation) and the authorities of the city. The Parliament indeed, by a prudent concession, had to some

[1] 2 *Com.* 1294. [2] 2 *Com.* 170.

extent calmed the excited feelings caused by the decree against which Dolet's orations had been directed; but the disputes between the capitouls and the students continued, and were aggravated by an injudicious and illegal attempt on the part of the former to impose upon the professors and the members of the University a heavy tax, thus not only infringing on their privileges in a most important particular, but injuriously affecting every member. The citizens generally approved the action of the magistrates; the graduates protested against the invasion of their privileges; the scholars, always ready for a disturbance, assembled with arms in their hands; a town and gown row of a serious character ensued, the authorities were insulted, a capitoul was even pushed off his mule. The city guard was ordered to seize the ringleaders, and accompanied by a rabble penetrated into the School of Law, where a professor, Jean de Boyssone as it would seem, was lecturing. Blood followed: six of the French students were arrested, and would have been executed, had they not been saved by the intervention of Jacques de Minut. The students fled from Toulouse; the lecture-rooms were closed, and the professors and regents appealed to the Parliament.

It seems that Boyssone and Voulté, if not the chief promoters, took an active part in the appeal. What view was taken by the Parliament we do not know; ultimately the proceedings before that tribunal were stayed, and the matter brought before the Grand Council. Matthew Pac pleaded the cause of the University, but as I imagine unsuccessfully, for no decree was pronounced. But the affair did not end here: the graduates pressed their grievance, and Gui de Breslay, one of the leading members of the Grand Council, was sent down to Toulouse to inquire into the matter. Again we are left in doubt as to the result, but it seems probable that the members of the University were successful, as we find Boyssone again lecturing, and we are certain that

Breslay would be as favourable to the cause of letters as the nature of the case would admit.[1] But Boyssone had hardly recommenced his lectures, when we find him engaged in a new process of more personal importance to him, yet as it appears arising either out of the disputes between the capitouls and the University, or out of the hatred which he had incurred by his zealous championship of the latter, or by his general promotion of the cause of literature and progress. All that we know certainly of the nature of the suit is from his own statement that his life was endangered by it, and his comparison of himself to Cicero pleading for his house.[2] His hopes rested on the president Minut, but the influence of the latter could not prevail against the narrow bigotry of his colleagues. Boyssone was condemned, and forthwith appealed to the Grand Council.

We have already learned from his letters his anxiety to know if the King was coming to Lyons. If he did come he would be accompanied by the Grand Council, which would sit at Lyons during his stay in the south of France. Francis arrived on the 17th of February, accompanied or immediately followed by the Grand Council. On the summons of Dolet, Boyssone lost no time in coming to Lyons, for the purpose of pleading his own cause.

Gui de Breslay fortunately was, if not the acting president of the Council during the sitting at Lyons, at least one of

[1] These matters are referred to by La Faille, ii. 90; but our chief source of information respecting them is the MS. correspondence and poems of Boyssone and the epigrams of Voulté. A narrative based on these sources will be found in M. Guibal's article in the *Revue de Toulouse*, 1864, pp. 83–85. But here, as elsewhere, M. Guibal's chronology is a little hazy. See also Boyssone's letter of Aug. 1535 (*ante*, p. 218).

[2] M. Guibal suggests that this suit was in fact in reference to Boyssone's house, which, as before mentioned, had been confiscated by the sentence passed on him on his condemnation for heresy. *De Boyssonnei Vita*, p. 49, note 2.

the most influential members. Dolet, Gryphius, and Maurice Scève were all on terms of friendly intimacy with him, and they were all eager to recommend the cause of Boyssone. Breslay's sympathies had already been roused in favour of the one professor of Toulouse who desired to promote the scientific study of the law, and to harmonise the studies of the University with the requirements of literature. Jean de Boyssone personally made a most favourable impression on him, and even on the other judges. Breslay used all his influence, both publicly in the court and privately with his colleagues, to save this excellent man from further persecutions. He was completely successful: Boyssone had to return to Toulouse before judgment was given, but a few days after his arrival there, Guillaume Scève had the satisfaction of writing to him that the decision was in his favour. 'You owe much,' he wrote, 'to Breslay, much to your own literary talents; the high opinion which the judges had formed of them has been of great assistance to you.'[1]

The process detained Boyssone the whole summer at Lyons. His law school was closed, and this, and the uncertainty as to the result of the suit, caused him much anxiety, yet did not prevent him from greatly enjoying his personal intercourse with Dolet and the other old and new friends whom he found in the city. Besides the usual and permanent residents, the presence of the Court had brought many persons of distinction, and had given Lyons the appearance of a capital. To Dolet as well as to Boyssone the opportunity was afforded of making the acquaintance of persons of influence. Marguerite of Navarre accompanied her brother. Boyssone was already known to her, and, as we have seen, only a year before she had urged him to settle at Bourges, where her court was usually held. A few months later we find her rendering a great service to Dolet, and it is probable

[1] Boysson. MS. *Epist.* fol. xix.

that it was on the occasion of her visit to Lyons that he was presented to her. For him the summer seems to have passed most pleasantly; not only was Boyssone at Lyons, but Dolet's heart was gladdened by the presence there of a friend who was even more devotedly attached to him, Jean Voulté.

Jean Faciot, who according to the fashion of the day translated his name into Latin as Vulteius, which the biographers have retranslated back again into French sometimes as Vautier, sometimes as Vouet, but more commonly as Voulté,[1] a young poet and scholar full of enthusiasm for literature and affection for his friends, was born about the year 1510, at Vandy-sur-Aisne, near Rheims, and on this account styled himself in his poetry Remensis. After having studied at Paris, at the Collège Sainte Barbe, we find him, on the 17th of December 1533, engaged under the name of Jean Visagier, Maitre-ès-Arts, by Tartas, then Principal of the College of Guyenne, as one of the regents or public lecturers whom the jurats of Bordeaux had authorised the Principal to appoint. His salary was forty livres tournois per annum, a higher stipend than that of any other of the lecturers, from which we should infer that he was possessed of some special qualification—possibly a knowledge of Greek.[2]

[1] Although, in accordance with the custom of modern French writers, I have referred to him throughout as Voulté, I do not find that he called himself by that name, or was so called by his contemporaries. The only French name by which he called himself was Visagier.

[2] Gaullieur, *Hist. du Coll. de Guyenne*, Paris, 1874, p. 57. Although M. Gaullieur suggests the possibility of Jean Visagier being the same person with Jean Voulté, he does not seem to think this probable, much less certain, and he suggests (p. 69) that Voulté only succeeded Gentian Hervet as a professor at Bordeaux when the latter gave up his appointment shortly before the 11th of April 1534; this, however, is mere conjecture. He certainly held office under Jean de Tartas, who resigned the post of Principal of the College on or about the 11th of April 1534. Voulté was one of those professors who had the most violent dislike to Tartas, against whom he wrote and afterwards published several bitter epigrams; but

We find him at Toulouse in the autumn of 1534, and in 1535 and 1536 studying law with a view of being admitted as an advocate, and at the same time lecturing, probably on Greek. I believe that it was during a visit he paid to Lyons early in October 1535 that he made the acquaintance of Dolet. In October in that year, Robert Britannus, who had then left Bordeaux, writes to Dolet from Toulouse a letter introducing to him one of his late colleagues, who, he says, taught Greek at the College of Guyenne at the same time that he (Britannus) taught Latin.[1] This I conjecture to have been Voulté, as it was certainly about the time that his intimacy with Dolet commenced. (It may however have been Hervet, or Charles de Sainte Marthe.) A warm friendship sprung up between them, as well as between Voulté and Boyssone. In the volume of epigrams by Voulté, printed in 1536, he not only devotes sixteen to the praises of Dolet, but in the dedication to the Cardinal of Lorraine he speaks of him in terms of the highest admiration. For several years Dolet, Voulté and Boyssone continued to be united by the closest ties of friendship, and if we cannot ascribe to Voulté any very high merits as a poet, we can give him our unqualified praise as a friend ready to do all, and more than all, that could be required of him in the service of friendship.

Although a Master of Arts he was still at Toulouse studying law, and at the same time lecturing or teaching, when the disturbances of which I have lately spoken caused the doors of the lecture-rooms to be closed, and

although the engagement and appointment of all the other lecturers during the reign of Tartas as well as that of his successor Gouvea is formally recorded, that of Jean Voulté would be altogether unknown, and no mention of it would be found in the records of the College, unless he was the Jean Visagier appointed by Tartas in December 1533, while, unless Visagier is the same person with Voulté, the former absolutely disappears, and no trace of him is to be found within a very short time of his appointment.

[1] *Britanni Orationes*, Tolosæ, 1536, p. 70.

dispersed the professors as well as the students. By the advice of Jacques de Minut and Jean de Pins he decided to give up the law and devote himself exclusively to literature,[1] which, as in the case of Dolet, had been his first mistress. He accordingly followed Dolet to Lyons (probably accompanying Jean de Boyssone), and seems to have passed the summer of 1536 there. We find from a letter of Matthew Pac to Boyssone, written from Toulouse on the 13th of July in that year, that they were all three then at Lyons.[2] Voulté had already composed two books of epigrams, but he tells us that he had not intended printing them, had he not been persuaded to do so by Pierre Duchâtel and Guillaume Scève, both of whom were then at Lyons. They were printed by Gryphius in 1536. The first book is dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he sounds the praises of Dolet in the letter before quoted; the second is preceded by a letter to Jean de Boyssone, containing the details just stated. Both dedications are written from Lyons, and are dated in the latter half of July 1536. Of the six hundred and thirty-one (so-called) epigrams of which the volume consists, and of which the major part are addressed to or are in reference to his contemporaries, no less than twenty-five are devoted to Dolet,—some addressed to him, some concerning his *Commentaries* and his place among poets and scholars, some addressed to others in his praise, and some in ridicule of Maurus and others of his enemies. All are full of affection and enthusiastic admiration for his friend. If we cannot give a higher place to Voulté for his criticism than for his poetry, his epigrams are yet most valuable for the biographical details which they contain relating to Dolet, Jean de Pins, Boyssone, and Minut.

[1] Epist. to Jean de Boyssone, prefixed to the second book of the *Epigrams* of Voulté, first edit. p. 98.

[2] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. viii. p. 13.

Duchâtel, G. Scève, Marot, Macrin, Briçonnet, and Roussel are also the subjects of numerous epigrams. For the disturbances in the University of Toulouse the book is invaluable, and it is to be regretted that La Faille and other historians of Toulouse have not made more use of it in their histories. He returned to Toulouse about the same time as Boyssone, apparently with a view of continuing his legal studies and lectures, as the lecture-rooms of the University were once more opened, and the students and professors had returned.

It was during his stay at Lyons that the city sustained an irreparable loss by the death of Sanctes Pagnini, which occurred in August 1536. His funeral was celebrated with no ordinary pomp, and his loss caused the deepest grief. The clergy lamented the most learned theologian and the most popular preacher of Lyons, one whose influence had been most efficacious in preventing the progress of the Lutheran heresy. Men of letters had to mourn the greatest Hebrew scholar of the age. And the poor wept for one who was even more devoted to works of charity and benevolence than to learning and theology. It was at his instance that the wealthy banker Thomas de Gadagne had founded a hospital for the reception of persons suffering from the plague.[1] Voulté was probably at his funeral, and wrote an epitaph upon him in elegiacs, which is however no very favourable specimen of his pen.

Both Boyssone and Voulté returned to Toulouse in August or September 1536, and towards the end of the month the correspondence between Boyssone and Dolet recommenced.

[1] Père de Colonia has shown conclusively (*Hist. Lit. de Lyon*, ii. 595-601) that the death of Sanctes Pagnini took place in August 1536, and not in 1541, according to the inscription then in existence in the church of the Jacobins, and as is stated by several of his biographers. See also Péricaud, *Notes et Documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, 1483-1546*, p. 57.

JEAN DE BOYSSONE TO ÉTIENNE DOLET

'It happened, my Dolet, that shortly after I had returned from the Court, and whilst I was diligently occupied in restoring my school, which had been closed the whole summer owing to my absence, as I was wandering up and down through the city spending my whole time seeking for lecturers, I was attacked by a very serious illness which caused me terrible suffering for some days. However, by the goodness of God being not only greatly relieved, but now completely recovered from illness, I write to you. As to what has happened since my return here it is not necessary for me to write, since Voulté has sent to you most copious letters concerning all these things. I know no one who writes to his friends more frequently and at greater length than he does. I have had no intention in writing to you to distract you from those studies in which you are so completely wrapped up.' [Toulouse. Sept. 1536.[1]]

ÉTIENNE DOLET TO JEAN DE BOYSSONE

'I am as well as possible in health, and pursue my studies with very great ardour. If you can give me the same good account of yourself, with what pleasure shall I not be filled? I am too much occupied with my *Commentaries* to be able to write more at length to you. Wherefore now farewell, and continue to love me as you do at present. Farewell. Lyons, Oct. 13, 1536. I beg you to salute in my name our most learned and dear friend Mopha.'

The person referred to in the postscript of this letter was the learned jurist Matthieu Gripaldi, lately appointed to a professorship of law at Toulouse, who sometimes styled

[1] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. xviii.

himself, for a reason unknown to us, Mopha. A native of Chiéré in Piedmont, where he was born about the commencement of the century, he had applied himself to the study of jurisprudence with much success, and had taught at Pisa, Perugia, and Pavia before he received the appointment at Toulouse. He soon became intimate with Boyssone and Voulté, as well as with Dolet, to whom he was probably introduced by the other two on the occasion of a visit to Lyons. With Boyssone he carried on a close correspondence for some years. Like so many other scholars and professors of the time he never rested long in one place, but wandered from one University to another, at once a student and a professor. Yet wherever he went he obtained a high reputation ; a friend of freedom of thought and freedom of inquiry, the dogmatism of Luther and Calvin was no less distasteful to him than that of the Catholic Church. Toulouse was certainly no place for him, but as long as Boyssone, Minut, and Voulté were there, there he also remained.

Subsequently he became a professor at Cahors, and shortly after at Valence. In 1548 his reputation had become so great that he was invited to Padua, and appointed one of the two ordinary professors of the civil law, at a salary of eight hundred florins. He gave so great satisfaction to the University and the Sovereign Republic, that his salary was twice raised ; to nine hundred florins in 1550, and eleven hundred in 1552. His popularity as a lecturer was so great that Papadopoli tells us the great hall of the University was insufficient to hold the crowd of students who desired to hear him. Soon afterwards, however, fearing lest he should have to leave Padua on account of his opinions, which were beginning to be known or suspected,[1] he determined to provide himself with a retreat, and purchased the estate of

[1] See *Theological Review*, xvi. pp. 302, 314. (Art. 'The Sozzini and their School,' by the Rev. A. Gordon.)

Farges near Geneva, in the territory of Berne.[1] There he had hoped to breathe a freer air, but the process against Servetus, which took place during one of his visits to Geneva, showed him to his bitter disappointment that (as Grotius has remarked) 'Antichrist had appeared not by Tiber only but also by Lake Leman.' Gripaldi in the presence of the stake boldly ventured to remonstrate with Calvin, and even to protest against the sentence on Servetus; but Calvin refused him an interview which he sought. Opposition to the will of the reformer was a crime never to be forgotten or forgiven, and the only result of the remonstrance was that some time afterwards Gripaldi was himself invited to confer with Calvin and other ministers as to his own offences. Calvin refused his hand, and Gripaldi, justly inferring from this that his cause was already prejudged, hastily withdrew from the conference. He was instantly summoned before the Council, and charged by Calvin not only with sharing the errors of Servetus, but (a greater crime) with having refused to discuss his opinions. Calvin, Beza tells us, refuted his errors, and he was banished from Geneva. The charge was not altogether groundless. Whether his opinions on the subject of the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity were more or less intelligible than those of Servetus—or than those of Calvin himself—I do not know. They were certainly not orthodox. When they became known at Padua, he was obliged to quit his professorship. Vergerio invited him to Tubingen, where for some time he filled a chair of law. But the arm of his persecutor was long. The Duke of Wurtemberg was warned that his University was sheltering a heretic, and he was expelled from Tubingen. Then he returned to Farges, where he exercised a generous hospitality to those who could frame their lips neither to the shibboleth

[1] In the district of Gex, then subject to Berne. Beza in his *Life of Calvin* calls him 'le seigneur de Farges.'

of Rome, nor to that of Geneva. It was in his house that the unfortunate physician Valentine Gentilis found a refuge after his escape from Geneva. The patience of Calvin was exhausted; he delivered Gripaldi to the authorities of Berne. He was charged with heresy, and abjured his antitrinitarian errors, but relapsing into his former opinions, 'he would,' as Bayle remarks, 'sooner or later have suffered the penalty of death, had not the plague, which carried him off in the month of September 1564, guaranteed him against any further trial for heresy.'

Whatever may have been his speculative opinions, the little that we know of his life induces us to give him both our respect and esteem, feelings which will be strengthened by a perusal of his correspondence with Boyssone, and by our knowledge of the affection which that excellent man, as well as Dolet and Voulté, had for him. His numerous works on jurisprudence (a list of which is given by Nicéron) were much esteemed.[1]

[1] See for Gripaldi, Bayle (who calls him *Gribaud*); Nicéron, xli. 235-241; Bock, *Historia Antitrinitariorum*, vol. ii. pp. 456-464 (the longest and best accounts we have of him and his works); Papadopoli, *Hist. Gymn. Patavini*, i. 252; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett.* vol. vii. pt. ii.; Rossotti, *Syllabus Scriptorum Pedemontii;* Sandius, *Bibl. Anti-Trinitariorum*, p. 17; Beza, *Vie de Calvin*. There is a good notice of him in the *Biographie Universelle*, where he is called Gribaldi. That of the *Biog. Générale* is disfigured by several erroneous references to and misquotations from Beza. One of his works was translated into English shortly after its appearance. *A notable and marvailous epistle of Doctor Mathew Gribald, Professor of the Law in the University of Padua, concerning the terrible judgment of God upon him that for fear of men denyeth Christ and the knowen veritie; with a Preface of Doctor Calvin; translated by E* [*dward*] *A* [*glionby*]. *Imprinted the XX day of April 1550, by Jhon Oswen.* It was several times reprinted.

CHAPTER XIV

A Homicide and its Consequences

Petit me perfidus hostis,
Ac infert ensem jugulo : hosti obsisto minanti,
Et neco, qui conabatur me absumere ferro.
Dolet.

N the 31st of December 1536 a new misfortune happened to Dolet. He was, as he tells us, attacked in the streets of Lyons by a painter named Compaing,[1] to whom he sometimes refers as a private enemy, at others implies that he was a hired bravo. It appears that he attempted to assassinate Dolet, and that the latter in defending himself killed his adversary. 'It happened to him,' as it is ex-

[1] In the official documents printed by M. Taillandier (*Procès d'Estienne Dolet*) he is sometimes called Henry Guillot dit Compaing, sometimes Guillaume Compaing. Dolet always refers to him as *sicarius*, and in one place speaks of him as actuated by *inveteratum odium*.

pressed in one of the documents relating to his sentence some years afterwards, 'to have the misfortune to commit homicide on the person of this painter.'[1] It would seem as though the latter was accompanied by a band of ruffians, who on the death of Compaing attempted at once to seize Dolet for the purpose of giving him into custody on a charge of murder, and who excited the crowd by making this accusation against him. It is certain that he had already made himself obnoxious to some at least of those who were in authority at Lyons, and that had he been arrested and tried there, however complete his innocence, he would have had but little chance of an acquittal. By the assistance of his friends he escaped before daylight from the city, intending to make his way to Paris in the hope of obtaining there the royal pardon. He has himself given us a narrative of his

[1] I am not sure that Dolet's account of this affair is altogether to be relied on. If in simply defending himself against the unprovoked attack of an assassin he killed his assailant, we can hardly see why there should have been any difficulty made by the Court of Lyons in registering his letters of pardon. Voulté indeed assures Jean de Pins, in the letter prefixed to the third book of his epigrams, that he had satisfied himself that the homicide was committed by Dolet in self-defence, and we may I think be satisfied by this testimony that Dolet was substantially in the right in the matter; but it seems probable that the affair was rather a quarrel between the two men than an unprovoked attack made upon Dolet by Compaing with the intention of murdering him. Compaing was a member of a respectable family at Lyons, and although I do not attach any weight to the precise charge against Dolet implied in the words used respecting the matter by Floridus Sabinus, yet he would hardly have so spoken had not Dolet and Compaing at one time been on terms of intimacy. Floridus thus addresses Dolet: 'Atque inde fieri compertum habeo ut qui nihil unquam laudabile in vita feceris quod de deo animaque sentis caute omnibus palam non facias, ne scilicet in crucem continuo rapiaris: a qua non admodum abfuisti dum perjurus sicarius juvenem pictorem cum quo lenonia fide in gratiam redieras, etiam jacentem animamque inter tuas nefarias manus exhalantem κοσκινηδὸν pugione confodisti vel unico illo exemplo innatam tibi immanitatem pulchre ostendens.' *Adversus Doleti calumnias.*

journey in a Latin poem, in which he related his adventures :—

'When Janus with his double face was contemplating at the same time two years, one hastening to its close, the other on the point of commencing, a perfidious enemy attacked me, and placed his sword at my throat : I resisted the would-be murderer, and slew him who was endeavouring to take my life.

'I was at the time wholly occupied with literary study, and was devoting to it all my time and labour, with a view of producing works which I hoped would be immortal and would do credit to France. . . .

'It was in this celebrated city (Lyons) that I was passing my life, when this cruel attack compelled me to use force in return, and unwillingly to preserve my own life by taking that of another. Immediately an armed band of ruffians pursued me, in order to cast me, innocent as I was, into prison. But it is not difficult to avoid the fury and escape the snares of a cowardly crowd. Protected by a body of friends, I departed from the city before daylight. I first bent my steps towards Auvergne, notwithstanding the severe frost and bitter winds which then prevailed. Soon I saw the mountain ashes on the lofty hills covered with snow. Through the narrow valley a mountain of water as it seemed rushed headlong with a sound like that of a tempest, and shaking the earth as with a hailstorm, inundated the fields.

'Then as I wandered through the forests of Auvergne the surging Allier unfolded itself before me. I determined to hasten my journey, by sailing down the stream. I embarked ; the boat aided by the oars flew more swiftly than the wind. Lands and towns receded, while the swift bark left its mark for a long distance in the water. But the severity of the winter delayed our course : from the bed of the river to the surface all was frozen, the ice was impervious

to the oars, and after our bounding vessel had received severe blows from the ice, it was brought to a standstill. Like a Parthian arrow, shot from a well-bent bow, which at first cleaves the surrounding air by its great force, but which if it enters the foliage of a thicket soon spends its force among the branches and falls to the ground, so our boat, which just before had been swift as the waves themselves, was stopped in its course. At length the boatman, urged on by my words, forced open a passage. The ice gave way to the repeated blows of the oar, and all at once we glided into the wide-spreading Loire, and were borne on its bosom to a city celebrated in history, Orléans, in which I recognise the cradle of my childhood, and I affectionately greet my native shores.

'Then, having dismissed my boat, I crossed the level plains on horseback. To reach the King was my only thought. I therefore directed my steps to the great and populous city of Paris, where I was told I should find King Francis, the King of France; than whom is there in the world which you look upon, O sun, anything more august, more excellent, or more clement?'[1]

The news of his offence and of his flight from Lyons aroused the sympathy and the exertions of his friends. No sooner had his misfortune come to the knowledge of Voulté, who was then at Toulouse, and who had already achieved a reputation by the publication of the first two books of his epigrams, than he instantly started for Lyons, where as it would seem he expected to find his friend in prison. He was desirous of placing himself, his influence, and his purse at Dolet's disposal, willing to share his friend's prison if that should be necessary, and if, as he seems to have expected, he should be condemned to banishment, ready, in pursuance of a promise formerly made, to accompany him into exile. On

[1] *Doleti Carmina*, p. 59.

arriving at Lyons he learned to his great joy that his friend had safely reached Paris, and that by the intervention of powerful friends he was expected to obtain the royal pardon.

A letter written by Voulté to Jean de Pins, dated the 12th of March 1537, and printed in the volume of his epigrams, tells us of the anxiety which he felt on his friend's account, and shows him, as we have every reason to believe he really was, a most devoted and affectionate friend, ready to sacrifice himself in any way that would be useful to Dolet. He seems to consider at this time that Dolet's pardon was pretty well assured, and there can be little doubt that he had himself used what influence he possessed in order to compass this result, and so long as he remained at Lyons he continued his exertions. 'Voulté,' writes Jean de Boyssone from Toulouse, 'has now been absent from us about two months. He has gone to Lyons for the purpose of assisting Dolet. Oh that he may be as successful as I wish him to be!'[1]

Were we to believe the statements of Dolet himself we should suppose that in this misfortune no assistance whatever was given to him by his friends. Always vainglorious, and never too desirous of acknowledging the aid he received from others, on this occasion, knowing as we do the zeal and energy manifested by his friends on his behalf, he portrays himself in most unfavourable colours. In the dedication of the second volume of his *Commentaries* to Budé he writes: 'After that most serious and bitter mischance which as you are aware fell upon me in the defence of my life, with what open and clandestine enemies have I not been attacked? Those who falsely persuaded themselves that they had been somewhat injured by me were triumphant with joy that at length the time was come for satisfying their hatred. Those who were eaten up with envy on account of the celebrity and literary glory I had acquired, thought the occasion at

[1] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. xiv.

length arrived for pouring this forth, and, rejoicing greatly that I was deprived of peace and safety, tore me in pieces as it were by their maledictions. All those who before in my prosperity had made much of me, in that my calamitous season deserted me. So being at once in the greatest danger from my enemies, and perfidiously deserted by my friends, I was not only in a state of grief and wretchedness (which might indeed be borne), but, as every one saw, I was in the greatest danger of my life, a situation which is able to cast down and break the spirit even of the most steadfast of men. Yet I did not give myself up to grief, nor did I suffer myself in an unmanly manner to be overthrown by the waves of my cares and anxieties, but boldly using the counsel of my ready mind I gradually emerged from my sea of troubles, and brought it to pass that, contrary to the wicked designs of my enemies, and *without the assistance of any of those who as far as name goes are my friends* (but from whom in truth I expected nothing), after a most raging tempest, and a storm of a most terrible character, I at length came safely into port without any very serious loss.'

This can hardly have been acceptable to Budé himself, and certainly still less so to those other friends to whom Dolet was really indebted for the king's pardon. From this dedication and from his poems he would lead us to suppose that immediately on his arrival in Paris, and without the intervention of any of his friends, he obtained access to the royal presence, told his story, and received the king's pardon. But the letters of Voulté and Boyssone let us know of the great exertions which were used by the accused's friends both in Lyons and Paris, and even in the royal court, to obtain this fortunate result.

Dolet himself in another place admits that his pardon was specially owing to Marguerite of Navarre,[1] and from

[1] 2 *Com.* 830.

the poems which he addressed to Franciscus Pocræus and Antonius Arlerius (names altogether unknown to me), we find that they also had exerted their influence in his behalf, and had greatly contributed to the result. Nor can we doubt that Pierre Duchâtel, now in high favour with the king, was most useful. Indeed an ode of Voulté's clearly implies that this was so. Voulté himself, after staying a short time at Lyons, appears to have felt that the interests of his friend required his personal presence in Paris, and accordingly we find him there before Dolet left the capital. The efforts of the friends of letters had however already been successful, and the royal pardon had actually been granted on the 19th of February,[1] before the date of Voulté's letter, and Voulté could only have arrived in Paris on the eve of his friend's departure, and just in time for the banquet given in Dolet's honour by his literary friends, of which he has left us a most interesting account, and which, bringing together as it did so many men of the highest literary distinction, is not only of interest in itself, but affords us an important biographical fact in the lives of these celebrated men. It is one of the best known of Dolet's writings, having been frequently quoted by the biographers of Rabelais and of Marot.

'Soon the time arrived for the banquet which a learned body of friends had prepared for me. There met together those whom we justly call the luminaries of France: Budé, the greatest in reputation for learning of every kind; Bérauld, equally happy in his natural genius as in his skill in Latin composition; Danès, distinguished in culture of all kinds; Toussain, who is honourably celebrated as a speaking library; Macrin, to whom Apollo has given a genius for every kind of poetry; Bourbon, also rich in poetic talent; Dampierre; Voulté, who affords to the learned high ex-

[1] *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, p. 27.

pectations of future distinctions; Marot, that Gallic Virgil, who displays a divine vigour in his verses; François Rabelais, that honour and glory of the healing art, who is able to recall and restore to life those who have reached the very threshold of Pluto.

'Among them there was no lack of conversation. We passed in review the learned writers of foreign countries: Erasmus, Melanchthon, Bembo, Sadolet, Vida, Sannazar, were all in turn discussed and praised.

'At the early dawn of the following day I left Paris, and proceeded as rapidly as possible to Lyons. My route was by the plains which the Seine washes, where the armour of Cæsar so often shone upon his invincible troops. At length I arrived where Saône divides Lyons into two parts.'[1]

Besides this banquet we know of only one incident of Dolet's visit to Paris, but that a very agreeable one. Going one day into the shop of Robert Estienne he saw a book of Latin poems by Salmon Macrin, just printed, and turning over the pages he found an ode to the Gallic poets of the day, in which he was classed with Dampierre, Brice, N. Bourbon, and Voulté, as one of the five leading Latin poets of France. This justly caused him no slight gratification, for Macrin was esteemed (and rightly so) as the first Latin poet of France, and the French Horace must be admitted to stand on an altogether different and much higher level than any of his contemporaries. Dolet repaid his praise by a Latin poem which he subsequently addressed to him.[2]

Upon returning to Lyons with the royal pardon in his pocket, Dolet found that it would not afford him the protection which he expected. Whether his friends or protectors had through ignorance neglected to apply for its ratification by the Parliament, or whether the Parliament had for some

[1] *Carmina*, p. 62. [2] *Ib.* p. 70.

reason rejected the application, we do not know. Certain it is that it was not ratified or registered until more than six years afterwards, and then not until after two rescripts under the king's hand and seal ordering this to be done. Wanting in this formality the authorities of Lyons—already hostile to the accused—thought themselves justified in paying no attention to the pardon, and Dolet had no sooner returned than, either at the instigation of his own enemies or of the friends of Compaing, he was thrown into prison by the Seneschal of Lyons. He remained there until the 21st of April 1537, when by the influence of Jean de Peyrat,[1] the Lieutenant-Governor of Lyons under the Cardinal de Tournon, he was provisionally set at liberty, on giving security to appear for judgment when called upon. He avenged himself upon the Seneschal by a bitter ode in the volume of poems which he published in the following year.

The vainglorious boast of Dolet that in this painful episode of his life it was his own energy and vigour alone that had obtained for him the royal pardon, and that he was perfidiously deserted by his friends, cannot I think but have been one of the causes of the estrangement which shortly afterwards arose between himself and Voulté. We have already seen the affectionate zeal which the latter showed in his friend's defence. In the two additional books of epigrams inserted in the volume which he published at Lyons about the middle of the year 1537 Dolet is the subject of eight epigrams, and is referred to with the highest praise (though I could fancy with a shade less of that cordial and enthusiastic affection which is so conspicuous in the first two books), and equally so in the letter to Jean de Pins which forms the preface to the third book. But in the two small volumes which he printed at the end of 1538 at Paris at the press of

[1] The constant friend and protector of men of letters. Dolet, Voulté, Ducher, Rousselet, and Bourbon have all odes in his honour.

Simon de Colines,[1] both of which are collections of short poems, addressed to or written upon a large number of French poets and literary men, friends and enemies of the author, the name of Dolet nowhere appears. But though his name is absent, it is unfortunately too clear that he is referred to in several bitter and reproachful epigrams. In several he is transparently hidden under the name of *Ledotus;* in others, headed '*In Ingratum*,' he is no less certainly intended. The poet complains bitterly of the ingratitude which he and others, notably Duchâtel, had experienced from a friend, to whom when in circumstances of great peril they had rendered assistance and had succeeded in saving from death. He expresses surprise that Guillaume Scève is willing still to retain this ungrateful man among his friends. He complains that one who had formerly spoken of him as his best, his dearest friend, now cared nothing for his affection, and that he had inserted in his books poems addressed to Bourbon which he had originally addressed to Voulté; and last, though perhaps not least, that he had ridiculed the latter's poems. The following is a specimen:—

In quendam Ingratum.

Debes qui propriam tuis amicis
Vitam, cur tibi neminem fuisse
Talem, qualis amicus esse amico
Debet temporibus malis, ab iisque
Dicis omnibus in tuo relictum
Casu? dic mihi per caput redemptum,
Per nuper tibi redditam salutem,
Sic amicitiæ, O scelus, tuorum
Respondes? satis esse nonne credis
Hoc factum modo singulari amori?

[1] *Joan. Vulteii Rhemi Inscriptionum Libri duo*, and *Jo. Vulteii Rhemensis Hendecasyllaborum Libri quatuor.*

Hæcne est gratia, quam referre par est ?
Hocne munere munus ipse pensas
Acceptum ? tibi nemo si vaganti
Incerto pede et anxio adfuisset,
Dic O dic ubi nunc miser jaceres ?
. . . . . .
Vivis ipse tamen, quid ? immo regnas,
Horum munere quos negas amicos,
Et narras tibi defuisse in ipso
Casu, qui tibi reddidere vitam.
Illos quid potes amplius rogare ?
Illos quid meliusque chariusque
Ingrato dare tum tibi salute
Optasses ? tibi quid dedisse amicos
Narro ? decipior, nihil dederunt :
Litteris etenim hanc dedere vitam.[1]

In another ode, headed *In Ledotum*, Voulté says: 'You not only wish to injure those who have injured you, but you even attack in your writings your very few friends, those through whom your life has been preserved to you. You are now trying to acquire new friends, yet these you will shortly again lose, for you do not possess a single friend of long standing.'[2]

I fear there can be little doubt that Dolet had shown himself ungrateful as well to Voulté as to others, and the publication of the second volume of the *Commentaries* which appeared in February 1538, containing the passage already quoted, could not fail to give the deepest pain to those who, like Voulté, had done everything, and more than everything, that could have been required by their friend.

Henceforth the name of Voulté disappears from our history. Dolet indeed addressed an ode to him in the

[1] *Hendecasyllabi*, fol. 9.

[2] fol. 96. I imagine Voulté is here referring to the passage in the dedication of the second volume of the *Commentaries* (already quoted), in which Dolet attacks his friends for their desertion of him in his misfortunes.

volume of poems which appeared in 1538, but he is not mentioned in any of his subsequent writings. But the open rupture between the two men did not take place until some time after Dolet's return to Lyons. During the remainder of 1537 the old friendly and familiar relations continued to exist. In the latter part of that year Boyssone writes to Gripaldi that he has heard from Scève, who tells him of Dolet's excellent health, and Voulté's admission as an advocate.[1]

About the same time with the estrangement from Voulté, and probably arising from the same causes, Dolet lost the friendship of Hubert Sussanneau, whom the reader will remember was at Lyons editing and correcting for Gryphius in 1535. I have before spoken of the laudatory terms in which Sussanneau wrote of Dolet, in a book printed in 1536. In 1538 he, like Voulté, had changed his tone. In his *Ludorum libri*, printed by Colines in that year, are three epigrams *In Medimnum* which are clearly directed against Dolet, and speak of him in terms similar to those used by Voulté ; and in addition, his personal appearance is described in language the reverse of flattering, but which does not altogether disagree with the description given by Odonus in the letter already quoted. His tall stooping figure, the leaden pallor of his face, his fierce eyes, his squalid air, are

[1] Voulté was assassinated on the 30th of December 1542, by a man who had been unsuccessful in a law-suit against him. See Boulliot, *Biographie Ardenaise*. Besides the two editions of the *Epigrammata*, and the two small volumes of *Hendecasyllabi* and *Xenia*, Voulté was also the author of *Oratio funebris, a Io. Vulteio de Iac. Minutio Tholosae habita.* Lugduni, apud Parmanterium, 1537. It is a tract of 16 pp., printed, like the second edition of the epigrams, by Barbous for Parmentier, and contains besides the oration a dedication addressed '*Malafantio et Reynerio*,' two epitaphs by Voulté and three by G. Scève, as well as an ode by Gripaldi. I have nowhere found this book noticed, nor do I know of the existence of a copy except the one I possess. It is not to be found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

assumed to correspond with the qualities of his mind, nor is his short jacket forgotten, which had excited the ridicule of Odonus :— [1]

Quem buxeus vultus, macerque, et oculi truces,
Et proferentis tertiata vocabula
Flagrare felle livido satis indicant.

And in another epigram :—

Extabet atra macie, et exili toga
Tegitur Medimnus.

Dolet's friendship with a no less eminent, and to Englishmen more interesting person, Nicolas Bourbon of Vandœuvre, had the same fate as that with Voulté and Sussanneau. The accomplished tutor of Henry Carey (Lord Hunsdon), young Henry Norreys and the Dudleys, the friend of Bishop Latimer and Dean Boston,[2] came to Lyons immedi-

[1] *Ludorum libri*, fol. 16 and 34. On the other hand, Voulté (*Epigrammata*, lib. ii. p. 159, edit. of 1537) gives us a most favourable idea of his personal appearance :—

Tam pulchrum est corpus, mens est tam pulchra Doleti,
Totus ut hoc possim dicere, pulcher homo est.

And Claude Cottereau (*Genethliacum*), speaking of Dolet's son, says :—

Quare sive unum referat, vel utrumque parentem,
Dives erit forma, dives et ingenio.

The art. 'Sussanneau' in the *Biog. Univ.* calls attention to a MS. note in the copy of his *Ludi* in the public library of Lyons which states that the epigram *In Mævium* is also directed against Dolet. I certainly hesitate to differ from the President Bouhier (who on reference to the copy in question appears to be the writer of the note), yet I think the epigram *Ad Lausum* (fol. 27) proves clearly that Dolet is not intended by 'Mævius.' Sussanneau is, however, even more spiteful in an elegy appended to his edition of the *Quantitates* of Alexander de Villedieu (Colines, 1542) :—

Ad Odletum, Inferni Calcographum.

Quid sine fortunis hominem, sine re, sine lege,
Expiet, et sine spe qui sit, et absque fide?

[2] N. Bourbon was a *protégé* of Queen Anne Boleyn, and was naturally enough devoted to the men of the reform party in England. He is as

ately on his return from England in the spring of 1536, and seems immediately to have made the acquaintance of Dolet. The latter, always ready to welcome a new ally on the side of the learned against the barbarians, gave a cordial welcome to the newcomer, and obtained for him the friendship of many of the learned men then at Lyons. It is probable that it was to Dolet that Bourbon was indebted for his introduction to Rabelais, to Marot, and the Scèves, and in his volume entitled Παιδαγωγεῖον, printed by Rhomanus in 1536, he showed his gratitude and esteem by three odes addressed to him, the one, *De Amicis Lugdunensibus*, beginning—

> Quos mihi Lugduni tua conciliavit amicos
> Fides, Dolete, et gratia,
> Efficiam,—

the others expressing the highest esteem for his person and respect for his learning. Six odes by him also appear among the commendatory poems affixed to the *Carmina* of Dolet.

But in the second and enlarged edition of his *Nugæ*, given by Gryphius at the end of 1538, though all the other poems in the Παιδαγωγεῖον are inserted, the odes to Dolet are omitted, and his name nowhere appears. A careful and repeated study of the *Nugæ* of Bourbon and of the poems of Voulté has enabled me to glean somewhat as to the cause of the estrangement between the two men, and has led me to some probable conclusions on the subject.

One day shortly after Bourbon's return to Lyons from England (in 1536) he went into the shop of Gryphius, and in answer to his inquiry what new books had just appeared, a volume entitled *Epigrammata* was handed to him. He

laudatory of Cromwell and Cranmer as he is unfair to Sir Thomas More. But I think that the author of that interesting monograph on More's Latin poems, *Philomorus*, is unduly hard upon him (2nd ed., London 1878, p. 261).

eagerly turned over its leaves, and found as he thought numerous lines and sentences taken from his *Nugæ*.

> Invenio illic e Nugis meis
> Surrepta carmina innumera, et sententias
> Alio tortas, et argumenta pleraque
> Adsuta ineptiis nebulonis illius.

In the Παιδαγωγεῖον, printed before the end of the same year, Bourbon fiercely attacks the author of this volume and charges him with shameless plagiarism in four epigrams headed *De Seipso*, *In quendam carminum suppilatorem*.[1]

Although the epigrammatist is not named, it appears that Voulté was intended, and accordingly in his next edition (Lyons, Parmentier, 1537) he in numerous epigrams defends himself from the attack of Bourbon, and, though without mentioning him by name, throws an abundance of abuse and ridicule upon him, his *Nugæ*, and the two portraits which Bourbon had prefixed and affixed to his book. But before the end of 1538, about the time of the quarrel between Dolet and Voulté, the two had become reconciled. In a letter from Bourbon to his mistress Rubella, dated Nov. 29, 1538,[2] he says, 'I hear by a letter of our friend Christopher Richer that Voulté is reconciled to me. Cursed be those tattlers (or rather, God give them a better mind) who left no stone unturned, as the saying is, that they might estrange Voulté from me.'

Very shortly after the date of this letter Bourbon gave a new edition of his *Nugæ*, and Voulté published his *Inscriptiones* and his *Hendecasyllabi*. In the books of each author there are friendly odes addressed to the other. Each expresses his gratification at friendship being established

[1] pp. 39, 40.

[2] *Tabellæ elementariæ . . . Nicolao Borbonio autore.* Lugduni, apud Frellæos Fratres, 1539.

between them, each is severe on the false friend who had caused and kept up the estrangement, and Voulté proposes that they shall consider him for the future as their common enemy. These things, coupled with the fact that their reconciliation immediately followed Voulté's quarrel with Dolet, that the volume of Voulté which celebrates their reconciliation is full of severe epigrams on Dolet, and that the almost contemporaneous edition of Bourbon's *Nugæ* omits the odes to Dolet,[1] lead me to conclude that they suspected the latter of being the creator and fomentor of their estrangement, and that to this must be attributed the cessation of Bourbon's friendship.

In the meantime Dolet's intimacy and correspondence with Jean de Boyssone continued as before. It would seem that a sum of money was owing to him at Toulouse, either a debt which in the haste of his forced departure he had been unable to get in, or, as is perhaps more probable, the value of the property he left behind him, which had either been illegally seized by the officers of justice or detained by some other person. A law-suit was necessary to recover it, and Boyssone took charge of the conduct of the affair and employed as his advocate Nicolas Le Roy.[2] On the 22nd of June he thus writes :—

Jean de Boyssone to Étienne Dolet

'I have received your book *De Re Navali*, for which I give you my best thanks. Your letter to Jean de Pins I

[1] There are several epigrams of Bourbon headed *In Zoilum* that may not improbably be directed against Dolet, but are not (as in the case of those of Voulté and Sussanneau) so clearly intended for him as to justify me in citing them as so intended.

[2] Nicolas Le Roy was a friend of Calvin and François Daniel. In 1534 he had been professor of law at Bourges. *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue Française*, ii. 409.

have caused to be delivered to him. Nicolas Le Roy, a most learned person and the leading man in his profession, has the greatest regard for you, and omits nothing which he thinks can tend to promote your interests and reputation. I hope therefore that very shortly the money will be repaid me, and as soon as I receive it I will take care that it shall reach your hands as speedily as possible. But Chomard has written to you more at length on these matters. Do you then rest content with the efforts we are all making on your behalf. Farewell. Toulouse, 22nd of June 1537.'[1]

But a great blow was soon to fall on Boyssone and the other friends of learning at Toulouse, and Dolet was to lose one of his best and most valued friends—with whom we see, from the letter just quoted, he still continued his correspondence. The death of the First President Minut had occurred on the 6th of November 1536. Voulté pronounced his funeral oration, and he, Boyssone, and Dolet all composed odes in honour of his memory, and in lamentation of his death. An inscription on his tomb in the church of St. Bartholomew (destroyed at the Revolution) justly described him as *veritatis amantissimus et litterarum propugnator acerrimus.* The excellent Bishop of Rieux did not survive his friend an entire year. He died at the Carmelite convent at Toulouse on the 1st of November 1537. Jean de Boyssone was at Lyons at the time of his death, and only learned the sad news on his return to Toulouse. On the 20th of that month he writes to Guillaume Scève a letter containing an interesting account of his journey to Toulouse, and thus concludes :—[2]

'I arrived very tired at Toulouse. There I was met by tidings the least pleasant and agreeable that were possible for me to have, namely, that Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux, had

[1] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. xxxiv.
[2] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. xxxvi.

departed this life. I feel his death most bitterly, as well on account of literature generally, as of the great loss which Toulouse in particular has sustained by his death. For he was indeed the great ornament to our city. I have saluted Mansancal[1] and Michael Faber in your name. To-morrow I return to my duty of lecturing, which has been for some time interrupted. Meanwhile if you receive any news from Italy write to me. Farewell. Toulouse, November 20, 1537. Salute in my name du Choul, Richer, Dolet, and M. Scève.'

A few days later he thus writes to Pierre Duchâtel (Castellanus), then Archdeacon of Avignon :—[2]

'Would that the rumour which lately reached you as to the death of Jean de Pins had been false. In that case all of us who devote ourselves to literature at Toulouse should not be in such deep grief. What, let me ask you, could have happened to us which we could have felt more severely? Last year we lost Minut. Death seemed then to have little power left to trouble us, except by this year depriving us of Jean de Pins, who alone was left to us as the guardian of letters. Toulouse, December 9, 1537.'

The three poets again celebrated in their verses the friend they had lost, and though the epitaphs of none of them are to be ranked amongst their happiest efforts, yet they all certainly proceeded from the heart, and are the words of sincere mourners.

The death of the Bishop of Rieux broke the last tie that bound Boyssone to Toulouse. Dolet, Voulté, and Gripaldi had all left the city. The two protectors and promoters of letters and learned men were dead. He now sought to obtain some legal appointment where he might pass his time

[1] Jean de Mansancal was then a Councillor of the Parliament of Toulouse. He succeeded Bertrandi as First President in 1538.

[2] Boyss. MS. *Epist.* fol. xxxvii.

in peaceful study, unmolested by the barbarism of his native city. After several unsuccessful applications, among others to the Cardinals Odet de Coligny and Gabriel de Gramont, of both of whom he afterwards writes with a little bitterness, he was at length (in 1538), by the influence of Jean Bertrandi, who now held the office of Third President of the Parliament of Paris, appointed by the Chancellor Du Poyet one of the judges of the Royal Court of Chambéry, and a member of the Council which administered the Province of Savoy, then recently annexed to the dominions of the King of France.

CHAPTER XV

The Printer

Illa ego quæ quondam, cœlo ut delapsa, colebar,
Illa ego quæ multis numinis instar eram :
Quam comitem addiderant mundi miracula septem,
Quæ decima Aonidum sum numerata soror :
Deliciæ humani generis vocitata per orbem,
Quæ vocitabar amor deliciæque deûm.

H. Estienne.

Qua certe nulla in mundo dignior nulla laudabilior, aut profecto utilior sive divinior et sanctior esse unquam potuisset.—Philip of Bergamo.

THE year 1538 was in many ways a memorable year in Dolet's life. There can be little doubt that in the early part of it his marriage took place, yet of the circumstances attending this event we know nothing. His wife's name has hitherto been unknown, but I am now able to give it from a notarial act preserved in the Archives of Lyons, and which has for its object an extension of the partnership subsisting in 1542

between Dolet and one Helayn Dulin.[1] The wife of Dolet is there referred to as Louise Giraud. The name Giraud is unfortunately too common to allow of our connecting her with any of the families of the name, but I am disposed to think, for reasons hereafter indicated, that she not improbably came from Troyes, and may have been related to Nicole Paris, the printer there. From the *Genethliacum* and the *Second Enfer* we see that the marriage was not only one of affection, but was also a source of great happiness to Dolet. Some of his friends indeed disapproved of it, doubting, as it seems, whether with his precarious means of livelihood he was wise in taking upon himself a responsibility and expense for which he might find it difficult adequately to provide. Yet Claude Cottereau, always a prudent and judicious friend, did not hesitate to express his thorough approval of it. Writing to Dolet a year later, after the birth of a son, he says: 'After the great labour to which I was obliged to devote the whole of last winter (for the purpose of founding my reputation, and acquiring some esteem among learned men), as I was going from Lyons to Tours, as a relief from the tedium of my journey, I set myself to compose some *dixains* and *huictains* on the birth of the son whom it has pleased God to give you for the completion of the great happiness of your marriage; a marriage which, though many others who little know your spirit and judgment have been surprised at, as a destruction or at least a hindrance to your fortune, so far as material wealth is concerned, yet I have always approved and praised, for I know that you have no greater anxiety than to live according to the commands of God, and to pass your time in tranquillity of mind so as to devote yourself more completely to literature. You have not entered the marriage state foolishly or without judgment, but for the purpose of obtaining from it the greatest good.'[2]

[1] See *post*, p. 338. [2] *L'Avant naissance de Claude Dolet.*

But it is probable that he would not have ventured on this important step had he not seen the way open to a more settled life and a more certain income than heretofore. The second volume of the *Commentaries* was published in February 1538, and in March the same year the author had the honour of being introduced to the King at Moulins by Cardinal de Tournon, and of presenting to His Majesty a copy of his great work. To which of his friends Dolet was indebted for his introduction to the great Cardinal, at that time at the height of his power and the most influential of the Ministers of Francis, we are not informed. Not improbably it was to Pierre Duchâtel, now in great favour with the King, and formally installed as his reader. The Cardinal spoke most favourably of him to the King, and Francis not only graciously accepted the volumes, but granted to Dolet the privilege which he sought, to enable him to commence with a good prospect of success the profession of a printer.

During the century which followed the invention of printing, the position of those who exercised the art was relatively much higher than it is in our own day. A printer was then necessarily a man of education, usually and almost necessarily a fair Latin scholar; and the master printers were invariably recognised as members of a learned profession, as belonging to the fraternity of men of letters, and not as mere tradesmen who exercised a mechanical art. The traditions of the Aldi, the Estiennes, the Gryphii, and the Elzevirs have indeed been worthily preserved in our own days by more than one great family of printers and publishers, and there have never been wanting learned printers who have used their profession not so much as a means of profit, as for the purpose of giving to the world books of the highest merit printed on the choicest paper and with the most perfect typography. But in modern times the combination of the scholar, the author (or the editor), with the practical printer,

the publisher, or the bookseller, has been comparatively rare, nor is it likely that we shall again see printing establishments like those of the elder Aldus or Robert Estienne, the proprietor of which, though calling himself by the modest title of printer, was rather the head of a college of learned men, and was no less competent to direct and assist their literary labours than to perform the most practical and mechanical details of his art.

The Greek prefaces of Aldus will favourably compare with those of the greatest scholars of the day, even with those of Musurus and Lascaris, and faulty as in the eyes of modern criticism are several Greek *editiones principes* which he both printed and edited, yet none but a man of rare abilities and learning could have edited or printed them for the first time even in the most faulty form. Robert Estienne was himself the author of some of the books of the greatest permanent value which issued from his press, he was one of the most eminent Greek, Hebrew, and Latin scholars of his day, and if his learning and the great services he rendered to letters are less universally recognised than those of the elder Aldus, it is because he has been overshadowed by the still greater learning and literary merit of his eldest son. The elder Aldus was surrounded at Venice by the most eminent scholars of his time, who in concert with him and under his direction and perpetual supervision, transcribed, edited and emended, and who did not disdain to act as the correctors of his press and sometimes even as compositors. Robert Estienne, in the much less learned Paris, entertained in his house ten scholars, all learned men, some of them pre-eminently so,[1] as his assistants and correctors of the press, and Latin was the language commonly and familiarly spoken in the house, not only by the ten learned assistants, but by

[1] 'Decem hi partim literati partim literatissimi viri' (Preface of Paul Estienne to the *Aulus Gellius* of 1585).

the master, his wife and children, and even by the servants. But Aldus Manutius and Robert Estienne were also the ablest practical printers of their day, thorough masters of their art, and of every detail connected with it, personally superintending, and (in the case of Robert Estienne) even taking part in the work of the compositors, and each designing and causing to be founded types for their books altogether different from any used before. The cursive characters still known as Italics were invented by Aldus (who took the handwriting of Petrarch as his model) for the purpose of his Latin books, a type which, though now disused except for the purpose of emphasis, will at once be seen to be an enormous improvement on either the Roman or Gothic types with their innumerable contractions previously in use; and if I hesitate to ascribe to him alone the invention of the two forms of Greek type which he first employed, it is only because it seems probable that the credit of the invention ought to be shared with Marcus Musurus, whose clear and beautiful calligraphy the type used in the earlier volumes—of many of which he was the editor—closely resembles. To Robert Estienne was due the Greek *typi regii*—engraved by Claude Garamond under the learned printer's direction—which for two centuries and a half continued to be recognised as the most perfect and beautiful of all Greek types.[1]

To be a printer in the sixteenth century was to be a member of a profession which was occupied with the promotion and spread of literature and science. Long before the invention of printing, the sworn bookseller clerks in

[1] A duplicate set of the matrices and fount, taken by R. Estienne to Geneva, became in the early part of the seventeenth century the subject of diplomatic intrigues and negotiations—the ambassador of the King of England desiring to purchase them from Paul Estienne, and the French Government claiming to be entitled to them subject only to the payment of the amount for which they had been pledged. See *Les Estiennes et les Types Grecs de François Ier, par Aug. Bernard*, Paris, 1856.

Paris could only be admitted as such after a strict examination, and an edict of Charles VIII. in 1488 reduced them to twenty-four in number, besides four principal booksellers (*magni librarii*), and declared them, together with two illuminators, two binders, and two scribes, to be officers and servants of the University, and as such entitled to all the privileges thereof as true scholars.[1] After the invention of printing, the privileges of the booksellers naturally fell to the printers, and the twenty-four — then called *imprimeurs libraires*—long retained their importance. In 1513 Louis XII., to whom, strangely enough, the welfare of his people appears to have been sometimes a matter of interest,[2] issued an edict by which he granted to printing what M. Didot calls *lettres de noblesse*, exempting it from a considerable impost, taking off the tax previously existing on books, and declaring that 'the printer-booksellers, as true members and officers of the University, ought to be maintained in their privileges, liberties, franchises, exemptions, and immunities, in consideration of the great benefits which have been conferred upon our kingdom by means of the art and science of printing, the invention of which seems rather divine than human, and which, thanks be to God, has been invented and discovered in our time by the means and industry of the said printers, by which our holy Catholic faith has been greatly augmented and strengthened, justice better understood and

[1] 'Comme vrais escholiers d'icelle.' Didot, *Essai sur la Typographie*, p. 720.

[2] Henry IV. is the only one of his successors prior to the Revolution of whom as much can be said. Even to Louis XVI., good husband and father as he was, worthy and prosperous citizen and locksmith as he might have been, had fortune been more favourable to him, the welfare of his people never on any single occasion seems to have been a matter of thought, nor did their sufferings and wretchedness, when they were dying of hunger by hundreds, ever induce him to consider how large a part of their misery was due to his enormous civil list.

administered, and the divine service more fittingly and accurately performed, said, and celebrated, and by means of which so many good and salutary doctrines have been manifested, communicated, and published to every one.'[1]

Certainly the title of father of letters is more justly due to the author of this noble and liberal decree than to Francis I., who, as we have seen, issued an edict prohibiting the use of the printing press, and who permitted the burning of both books and printers.

Étienne Dolet, as we have before seen, on his arrival in Lyons in the summer of 1534, found employment with Sebastian Gryphius as reader and corrector of the press; and though his two visits to Paris, the completion of his *Commentaries*, and his other literary labours must have taken up the larger part of his time, yet there can be little doubt that during the following four years he continued with more or less intermission to assist the great printer, as well as François Juste and others, and to maintain himself by this means, and that during this period he also acquired in the workshop of his patron a practical knowledge of the art of printing.

Amongst his most intimate friends and associates at this time was the foreman and head under Gryphius of the printing office, Jean de Tournes, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, soon to rival and indeed to excel his master in the divine art, and to found a family that for two centuries and a half continued to exercise their hereditary profession at Lyons and Geneva.[2] At what period Dolet decided to adopt the pro-

[1] Didot, *Essai sur la Typ.* 750.

[2] Dolet has an ode *Ad Joannem Turnæum et Vincentum Piletum combibones.* M. A. F. Didot (*Essai sur la Typ.*) seems to speak with less than his usual accuracy in saying that Jean de Tournes had served his apprenticeship to Sebastian Gryphius. According to the family papers cited by M. Revilliod in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1856, pp. 917-930, he had served his apprenticeship to Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel, and he

fession of a printer we do not know; not improbably it was when he first contemplated marriage. The precarious income of a man of letters, even when eked out by the wages of a reader or corrector for the press, though sufficient for his own simple wants, would be inadequate to maintain a wife and children. It was on the 6th of March 1538, on the occasion of his interview with Francis I. when he presented to him his *Commentaries*, that he obtained from the King,[1] who was then at Moulins, a privilege or license authorising him to print or cause to be printed all books composed or translated by him, and other works of ancient and modern authors, which should be by him properly reviewed, emended, illustrated, or annotated, whether by way of interpretation, scholia, or other declaration, and as well in Latin, Greek, and Italian as in French. By this license all other persons are forbidden, under pain of fine and confiscation of their books, to print or expose for sale, either within the kingdom of France or elsewhere, books copied from those of Dolet, for the space of ten years from the date of the publication of such books respectively. The docu-

probably entered the service of Gryphius soon after the latter commenced business as a printer. He tells us in the preface prefixed to his edition of Petrarch in 1545 that he had worked twelve years before at the edition given by Gryphius (in 1532) of the works of Luigi Alamanni, and that this gave him the taste for Italian literature. He was acquainted with Latin, Greek, Italian, and Spanish. The business, which he commenced in or about 1540, was carried on uninterruptedly by his descendants, sometimes at Lyons, sometimes (for he and they were Protestants) at Geneva, sometimes at both, until 1780, when the brothers de Tournes disposed of their business, which, according to M. Revilliod, had for forty years been the most considerable in Europe. The unmarried daughter of one of these brothers lived far on in this century at Geneva.

[1] The privilege is dated 6th March 1537. This would be 1538, N.S. This is made clear by the words at the end (*et de nostre Regne le vingt-quatrieme*). Francis I. succeeded to the throne 1st Jan. 1515. His twenty-fourth year would thus commence 1st Jan. 1538.

ment concludes, 'Par le Roy. Monseigneur le Cardinal de Tournon présent.' It was signed by de la Chesnaye, and sealed with the great seal in yellow wax.

Some time had still to elapse before Dolet was able to avail himself of the privilege and to effect the necessary preparations and arrangements for commencing business as a printer. Before the end of the year 1538, however, his press was set up, and at least two books printed at it. His old friend Gryphius, instead of feeling any jealousy of his young rival, gave him all the assistance which he required. A careful examination of the books to which the name of Dolet is attached as the printer induces us to suspect that more than one of them was printed at the press of Gryphius, and shows us plainly that several of the woodcut capital letters used by the latter had been lent or given by him to Dolet, since they are identical with those which ornament many of the productions of the press of Gryphius. The resemblance indeed is so precise that the letters seem to have been struck from the same blocks. Moreover, the type generally used by Dolet so much resembles that of Gryphius that it seems probable that a great part of it was furnished by the eminent printer.[1]

Following the custom of the day, Dolet adopted a mark and motto, which are to be found on all or nearly all the productions of his press. The mark and the motto are equally allusive. The former is an axe, of the kind then known as the *doloire*, held in a hand which is issuing out of a

[1] Not impossibly there may have been at some time a sort of partnership arrangement between them, as we know there was between Sebastian Gryphius and Jean de Tournes when the latter commenced business on his own account. Several books printed between 1540 and 1550 which have the name of Gryphius on the title-page were really the impressions of de Tournes, and the accounts between the printers dated and settled in 1550 are still extant, and are cited by M. Revilliod in the article before referred to.

cloud. Below is a portion of a trunk of a tree, already begun to be severed, and about to be completely so by the axe. It is usually surrounded by the following motto, '*Scabra et impolita ad amussim dolo atque perpolio.*' It is often also surrounded by an ornamental woodcut border.[1] At the end we usually though not invariably find the mark repeated, but instead of the motto one of the two following sentences, the first being taken from Cicero: *Durior est spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ conditio*, and *Preserve moy O Seigneur des calumnies des hommes.*

But although in commencing and carrying on business as a bookseller Dolet retained the friendship of Sebastian Gryphius, and derived much advantage from his experience and assistance, his relations were very different with the other master printers of Lyons. High as he placed the 'divine art of printing,' and those high priests of its altars who were no less distinguished by their learning than by their knowledge of the art and by the accuracy of their impressions, he more than once expresses himself with perhaps undue severity on the carelessness or ignorance of the common herd of printers. In the *Commentaries*[2] he speaks with much bitterness on this point: 'What great negligence and carelessness is displayed by printers! How often are they blinded and rendered careless by drink, and given up to intoxication! How boldly, how rashly, how utterly without reason, do they not make alterations in the text if (a thing which seldom happens) they have any tincture of letters! So that you scarcely find any book issue from the press without innumerable faults. Yet no one can doubt that it was made a matter of the very first importance by Aldus Manutius that his books should be printed with the utmost accuracy. Jodocus Badius and Joannes Frobenius (both lately deceased)

[1] In some cases the words *Scabra Dolo* are printed on the axe.

[2] 1 *Com.* Col. 266.

took equal pains that their books should be worthy of the learned; and the same anxiety to excel in accuracy is displayed by Sebastian Gryphius, a German, and Robert Estienne and Simon de Colines, both Frenchmen. What reputation have they not acquired by their admirable productions! Yet even they are not able entirely to accomplish what they wish, or to prevent the carelessness of their ill-conditioned and drunken assistants from manifesting itself, so that the learned do not benefit as much as might be wished from this their most laudable care and supervision. Wherefore (if you find any inaccuracies) you must not despise the care and judgment of those learned men, but must note and correct with diligence any error you may meet with.'

It is not impossible that the first part of this passage was aimed at individual printers at Lyons who would be easily recognised by their contemporaries, and would not be disposed to view with favour one who had spoken of them with such contempt, and who without having served any apprenticeship to their art was commencing its exercise under the protection of a royal license which conferred upon him unusual and exceptional privileges. But about this time grave disputes arose between the master printers and the journeymen, and Dolet, always on the side of the weak and oppressed, and utterly regardless of prudence or expediency, warmly took up the cause of the journeymen.

Of the origin of these disputes, all that we know is that the workmen had banded themselves together to force the masters to pay them higher wages and to afford them better food than they had previously received, and also that they wished to reduce the number of apprentices,[1] the usual

[1] 'Depuis trois ans en çà, aucuns serviteurs, compagnons imprimeurs mal vivans, ont suborné et mutiné la plupart des autres compagnons, et ce sont bandez ensemble pour contraindre les maistres imprimeurs de leur

objects of a trades-union. There can be little doubt that on the first point the complaint of the workmen was just. During the preceding half-century the prices of commodities had risen considerably—that is to say, the value of money had fallen, owing partly if not principally to the quantity of silver which had flowed into Europe from America. At the same time France had increased in wealth, and among all classes a style of living was growing up less simple and 'more opulent' (to use the expression of the edict of Francis I.) than had been usual. Hence the workmen naturally complained of the old wages and the old 'nourishment' as insufficient. Nor was it only among the printers, or even in France, that this state of things prevailed. Everywhere and in all trades greater wages were claimed by the workmen and opposed by the masters; and wherever, as in England, the latter were the law-makers, foolish Acts of Parliament were passed attempting to ignore the change of the times and to prevent the legitimate and inevitable increase in (the nominal rate of) wages. But not everywhere have the workmen shown themselves so strong, and it may be so turbulent, as at Lyons. Then, as ever since, they have shown a zeal for progress and liberty, if not always a zeal according to knowledge. Only three years before this time, when the people of Geneva had expelled the Prince Bishop and were expecting the attack of the Duke of Savoy, five hundred men from Lyons, mostly printers and other artisans, and commanded by a printer, marched to their assistance.[1]

The disputes which commenced in 1538 lasted some

fournir plus gros gages, et nourriture plus opulente, que par la coustume ancienne ils n'ont jamais eu; davantage ils ne veulent point souffrir aucun apprentis besongner audit art afin qu'eux se trouvans en petit nombre aux ouvrages pressez et hastez, ils soient cherchez et requiz desdits maistres.' Edict of Francis I. of 28th December 1541. *Du règlement de l'Imprimerie pour la ville de Lyon.* See Crapelet, *Études sur la Typographie*, p. 53.

[1] Spon. *Hist. de Genève.*

years. The journeymen printers were at first successful, and obtained from the King an edict in their favour. But they derived no benefit from it. The master printers threatened to remove to Vienne in Dauphiné. The citizens of Lyons were alarmed at the prospect of losing what had become the most important branch of the commerce of the city, and in which so much capital had been invested. The consuls were appealed to. They resolved that every effort must be made to retain the master printers. The son of the town clerk was sent to represent their case to the King and to obtain a repeal of the edict, and in particular to obtain an article reducing the day's wages to thirty-five sols. This time the masters, backed up by the magistrates of the city, were successful. On the 28th of December 1541, an edict was issued for the regulation of printing in the town of Lyons, which established in that city the same rules which were in force in Paris. No book was thenceforth to be printed without the royal license. The workmen were forbidden to form unions or societies or to assemble together. They were to receive the wages and food that had been customary. They were not to leave unfinished the printing of any book which they had commenced. The masters were to be at liberty to engage any apprentices they might think meet.[1]

This edict, which was issued on the petition of the consuls, bailiffs, and inhabitants of the city, caused, as may be supposed, a lively dissatisfaction among the workmen. They appealed against it; but without avail. On the 19th of July 1542, a confirmatory edict was issued staying the appeal and peremptorily forbidding the journeymen printers from impugning or further appealing against the former edict. But the disputes still continued, and after scenes of violence and tumult a compromise was arrived at between

[1] Crapelet, p. 53; Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*, p. 65.

the two parties and embodied in a deed of accord dated the 1st of May 1543.[1]

In these disputes Dolet took an active part, supporting, though a master, the cause of the workmen, and of course adding thereby to the number of his enemies most of the master printers of Lyons. But it seems that their hostility was not only owing to his support of the cause of their servants. He had not been apprenticed to their craft and was considered as an interloper, and they laughed at the idea that one possessed of such small means should commence so important a business and one requiring for its successful conduct so large a capital.

Whence he obtained the necessary capital for purchasing presses, and otherwise starting in so important a business, has hitherto been a mystery which I am able for the first time to explain. An Act of Association of July 10, 1542, exists in the Archives of Lyons, from which it appears that on that day Dolet and his wife entered into an agreement with Helayn Dulin for extending for a further period of six years the partnership then subsisting between them, and which had been entered into originally on January 24, 1539. We know neither the original terms of the partnership, nor of a continuation of it which was effected in August 1540, but from the fact that the agreement of 1542 was intended to secure to Dulin a sum of 1500 livres (500 already paid and the remainder to be advanced in equal parts at All Saints and Easter then next), there can be little doubt that he was the moneyed partner, who had found the greater part of the capital.[2]

[1] Péricaud, p. 63.

[2] I am indebted to the late M. Baudrier for a copy of this document. It is so curious and interesting that I print it in full in the appendix as far as it can be deciphered. It will be noticed that Dulin is careful to guard himself against the consequences of the printing by Dolet of any *livres reprins ou defendus*.

Dolet had however saved something, and with this and the capital advanced by Dulin, and possibly some loans from other friends, he commenced business both as printer and bookseller—*tenant bouticque de libraire*, as he afterwards expressed it.[1]

'Sire,' he wrote to the King during his imprisonment after his condemnation to death in 1543, 'you will remember how in the year 1538, after I had presented to you the two volumes of my *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*, and after I had given you to understand that I wished (in addition to my literary profession) to devote myself to the art of printing and the business of a bookseller, so that I might make myself still more useful to the common weal, you were pleased (in order that I might not be deprived of the results of my labour by a crowd of ignorant men) to give me exclusive rights during ten years over all books which should be either composed, emended, corrected, or duly revised by me. Having obtained this of you, I gradually made all needful preparations for properly executing my enterprise, and I began to print good books both in Latin and French. At this commencement of my undertaking the booksellers of this city (Lyons), knowing that I had not such ample store of this world's goods as they had, ridiculed me very much. But I was not on this account induced to give up my plan, and having by the assistance of my friends obtained some addition to my capital, it came to pass that no printer or bookseller in Lyons acquired a higher reputation for correctness as a printer or was more successful in making profit as a bookseller. Hence arose a great and mortal hatred on the part of the members of my own trade, and in place of the

[1] 'Il auroit mis ensemble quelque peu d'argent avec lequel et l'ayde de ses amys, il despieça leve quelques presses d'imprimerye et soubz icelle imprime et faict imprimer plusieurs beaulx livres tenant bouticque de libraire.' *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, p. 7.

ridicule which they had been accustomed to use, they at the end plotted my death.'[1]

But whilst he frankly admits more than once that he sought at obtaining by his presses a certain income suited to his condition as head of a family, he yet proposed only to print books of real merit. 'I shall strive,' he writes, 'to increase by all the means in my power the treasures of literature, and I have resolved as well to conciliate the sacred manes of the ancients by the scrupulous accuracy of my impressions of their works, as also to give my labour and pains to contemporary writings. But whilst I shall cordially and indeed eagerly welcome works of merit, I shall altogether reject the wretched writings of the vile scribblers who are the disgrace of our time.'[2]

It was towards the end of the year 1538 that the work of his press commenced, and in the six following years at least sixty-seven different works issued from it, fifteen of which were either original treatises or translations written by the printer himself, while many of the others show marks of his editorial care, and are preceded by a preface, a dedication, or an ode, from his pen. Of these works several were reprinted more than once by Dolet, making a total of upwards of eighty impressions printed by him.

The first book which issued from his press was a short treatise of thirty-eight pages entitled *Cato Christianus:* it is a brief exposition of the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, followed by the two odes to the Virgin which had already appeared in the volume containing the orations. It is dedicated to Cardinal Sadolet, and in the preface the

[1] This letter forms the preface to his translation of the *Tusculan Disputations*, printed at Lyons in 1543, but does not appear in the subsequent editions.

[2] Letter to Cardinal du Bellay prefixed to the book of Cottereau, *De Jure Militum*, Lugd. 1539.

author says that he had been made the subject of reproaches and calumnies for never speaking of religion in his books, a subject which he knows to be perilous, and which he would rather have abstained from touching. 'I shall however,' he adds, 'prove by this tract that not only my actions and the example of my life, but also my words, attest my religious faith.'

Among the pieces of verse which accompany this volume is the following by Guillaume Durand, the first Principal of the College of Lyons. Its motive is the same as that of the volume :—

Cessate, crepantes, invidia obtrectatores,
Cessate dicere Doletum relligione
Vacuum : et, ut relligionis sit doctus doctor,
Hoc libro ab eo discite, iniqui obtrectatores :
Hoc discite libro Christiane vivere.

Dolet seems to have been especially desirous that the book should make a favourable impression, and in writing in the following year to Claude Cottereau he says, 'Tell me, I pray you, how my *Cato Christianus* has been received by the courtiers.'[1]

In the same year three other volumes appeared with Dolet's mark, and two of them with his name on the title-page as printer, but of these three the two most important were not in fact printed by him ; the one an edition of the works of Clément Marot which I shall notice hereafter, the other a small quarto of 184 pages containing the Latin poems of Dolet in four books, which I agree with M. A. Firmin-Didot in thinking was printed at the press of Gryphius, the type and general appearance of the volume being identical with that of the treatise *De Re Navali* printed in the same year.

It contains one hundred and ninety-five *Carmina* divided into four books, and includes all those which had previously

[1] Dedication of the *Genethliacum*.

appeared in the volume containing the orations. The first book is dedicated to Claude Cottereau, the second to Cardinal de Tournon, the third to Jean de Boyssone, and the fourth (containing epitaphs only) to Sebastian Gryphius. The volume is accompanied by commendatory poems of Salmon Macrin, Nicolas Bourbon, Honoratus Veracius, and Godefroi Bering. It is of great interest, but need not here detain us further; all such of the poems as have any special biographical or literary value being elsewhere noticed in this book.

CHAPTER XVI

The Genethliacum and the Avant Naissance

ἡ οἱ ἔπειτ' ἤυτησ', ἅμα δ' ἀμφίπολος κίεν αὐτῇ
παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ' ἀταλάφρονα, νήπιον αὔτως,
Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῷ.
HOMER.

IN the beginning of the year 1539 Dolet's heart was gladdened by the birth of a son, named Claude after his godfather Claude Cottereau of Tours. The delight which this event gave him, his warm affection for his wife and son, his anxiety for the latter's welfare, he lets us see in several of his writings. On the birth of this son he wrote and published a *Genethliacum* or birthday ode; and very shortly afterwards in the same year a translation of it into French appeared under the following title; *L'Avant Naissance de Claude Dolet, filz de Estienne Dolet: premierement composée en Latin par le pere: et maintenant par*

ung sien amy traduicte en langue Francoyse. Œuvre tres utile et necessaire a la vie commune: contenant comme l'homme se doibt gouverner en ce monde. These are two of the most interesting and admirable of our author's works, full of the purest and noblest sentiments set forth in harmonious and poetical language; and when his son read them in after life, they must have taught him how much he had lost in being so early deprived of his father.

The *Genethliacum* is dedicated to his friend Claude Cottereau, or Claude of Touraine. 'You are not ignorant,' he writes, 'of the custom of kings. When a son is born to them they send messengers to announce the happy event to all parts of the world, anxious to receive congratulations from every quarter. They invite foreign kings to the baptismal ceremony, and make a more than ordinary display of splendour and luxury. But with what pomp shall I receive the son who has been born to me? It must indeed be a literary pomp, since I have no regal magnificence to bestow. I will announce to the world the birth of my son in a short poem composed of precepts calculated to guide the steps of youth in general in the ways of discretion. This is the pomp with which I wish to receive my son, it is worthy of me, honourable to him, profitable to all. In this little work I have briefly strung together the maxims which I have thought to tend to a life of wisdom, rectitude, and happiness, whether we look at it externally only, or also with reference to the inner good of the mind. This work, which I have composed as a relaxation of my leisure, I wish to dedicate to you, both because you held my son in your arms at the sacred font, and also because I think you will receive it eagerly, as not being altogether foreign to that philosophy to which you are so entirely devoted.'

Next comes an address to the Muses, and this is followed by the principal poem addressed to his son, *Præcepta*

necessaria vitæ communi, in hexameters; then an ode in sapphics addressed to the gods, asking their blessing on the child. Then follow four odes addressed to Dolet, two of them by Claude Cottereau, one by Jean des Gouttes (Guttanus), and one by Maurice Scève; then a poem of Barthélemi Aneau, in seventy-four hexameters, addressed to the boy. A short ode of Pierre Tolet concludes the volume.

Noscitur a sociis. Of Jean des Gouttes indeed, the translator of Ariosto, we hardly know more than the name, but the four others (and probably des Gouttes also) were men of whose friendship Dolet might well be proud, men who combined literary gifts with high moral worth, and the three last-named of whom are justly considered as among the most eminent men whom Lyons has produced. The name of Maurice Scève, poet, musician, painter, and architect, the friend of Marot, the poetical tutor of Pernette du Guillet and Louise Labé, the precursor of Ronsard, is one of those which the Lyonese most love to dwell upon, and if the nineteenth century is unable to thoroughly sympathise with the admiration which the sixteenth gave to *Delie, objet de plus haulte vertu*, it will altogether approve of the prominent place which in his great picture of Lyonese celebrities M. Chatigny has given to Maurice Scève.

The names of Barthélemi Aneau, the second Principal of the College of Lyons, and Pierre Tolet, physician to the Hôtel-Dieu and afterwards Dean of the Faculty of Medicine there, are probably less known. Yet the unhappy fate of Aneau, a man of learning, virtue, and moderation, murdered by a pious and orthodox mob for his heretical opinions, has given him a niche in the Protestant martyrology; while the Pantagruelists will remember that Tolet was a fellow-student of Rabelais at Montpellier, and played with him in *la morale comedie de celuy qui avoit espousé une femme mute*. Charles de Sainte Marthe, the common friend of Dolet and Tolet, has

celebrated their friendship in an ode in which he plays upon their names :—

> Nature desirant faire un couple d'amis,
> De parfaicte amitié œuvre en perfection,
> En un mesme lien ensemble vous a mis,
> Faisant de vos deux cœurs en un conjonction :
> Mesme temps, mesme lieu, mesme habitation,
> Mesmes mœurs, mesme esprit et mesme aage l'empare ;
> Un cas tant seulement l'un de l'autre separe :
> L'un grand en medicine et l'autre en éloquence.
> Pour declarer en vous profession dispare,
> Une lettre a vos noms a mis la différence.[1]

The poems of his five friends are full of affection and admiration for Dolet, and of prophecies of a distinguished future for his son, while the first of those of Claude Cottereau makes a special mention of the boy's mother :—

> Sed quid Matre ipsa laude omni plenius ? aut quid
> Sanctius ? aut melius ? vel magis ingenuum ?

It has been a matter of some discussion who the *amy* was who appears on the title of the *Avant Naissance* as having translated the *Genethliacum* into French, and inasmuch as the original poem was dedicated to Claude Cottereau, and as the *Avant Naissance* contains both verse and prose by him, Née de la Rochelle attributed the translation to this firm friend of Dolet and his family. The style is however clearly that of Dolet himself. Several of the expressions there used appear afterwards in the touching poem on his desolation and consolation which he wrote when a prisoner in the conciergerie shortly before his death, and it seems not improbable that he attributed it to a friend for the purpose of avoiding the charge of vanity which the translation into French of his own poem might have given rise to. Certainly if the translator

[1] *La poésie françoise*. Lyon, Le Prince, 1540.

was Claude Cottereau, it seems strange that he did not affix his name to the principal poem as well as to the dixains which follow. The preface addressed 'to the reader, full of goodwill, and free from envy and detraction,' but displaying most egregious vanity, if, as we believe, Dolet is the author of it, is interesting from the notice which the author gives of the great French poets of the day. 'Reading some time since a certain work of Estienne Dolet entitled *Genethliacum Claudii Doleti*, son of the said Dolet, I have determined to employ myself in translating it from the Latin into the French tongue, and this not for the purpose of displaying my own poetical powers, but in order that every one may derive benefit from the translation of a work so full of the learning and prudence necessary for common life. True it is that the Latin compositions of Dolet merit a much more excellent translator than I am. Such would be a Maurice Scève (short indeed in stature but great in composition), a Seigneur de St. Ambroise[1] (chief of the French poets), a Heroet (called La Maisonneufve), the happy illustrator of the good sense of Plato, a Brodeau the elder, or the younger (each of them a singular honour to our language), a St. Gelais (a divine spirit in every kind of composition), a Salel (a poet as excellent as he is little known among the vulgar), a Clément Marot (remarkable for the sweetness of his poetry), a Charles Fontaine (a young man of great hope), a little Moyne de Vendosme[2] (learned and eloquent contrary to the nature and custom of monks), or any of those others by whom France is adorned in several different places, abounding more (by the grace of God) than any other kingdom in learned men. These indeed ought to be the interpreters of

[1] Jacques Colin was Abbé de St. Ambroise at Bourges.

[2] Probably Pasquier Le Moyne, porter to Francis I., who published his poem *Le Couronnement de Roy François I.* (Paris, 1520) under the name of *Le Moyne sans froc*. See Colonia, *Hist. Lit. de Lyon*, ii. p. 493.

the present work. But if by my sincere affection I have anticipated them, I would not on this account be the cause that such noble spirits as those I have mentioned should be prevented from the undertaking. Now I return to my first remark, gentle reader, which is that the profit and utility which pervade this work have induced me to translate it, and for the like reason I hope you will take in good part my labour and pains.'

After the translation of the three poems of Dolet come some dixains and huictains of Claude Cottereau, preceded by the letter to Dolet, part of which I have already quoted, and which thus concludes :—'Having understood that the book which you have composed on the birth of your son had been translated into French, and that you are thinking of printing it, I have wished to send you these compositions of mine, for no other purpose than to show the friendship which I bear to you ; and if the rhymesters of France do not find them to their taste, I care nothing provided they please you. Adieu, my friend.'

Both the *Genethliacum* and the *Avant Naissance* are inspired with the purest and most elevated sentiments of religion and morality, and it is impossible to believe that they express anything but the genuine sentiments of the author. It is with the Divine Author of all things that the man who has been reputed an atheist begins and ends his poem :—

Vive Deo fidens : stabilis fiducia Divum
Tristitia vitæ immunem te reddet ab omni.
Relligionis amor veræ fert commoda tanta.

Tu ne crede, animos una cum corpore lucis
Privari usura. In nobis cœlestis origo
Est quædam, post cassa manens, post cassa superstes
Corpora, et æterno se commotura vigore.
Scilicet a summo rerum Genitore creati

Sic sumus, ut rapida corpusque animusque necentur
Morte, nec in Cœlum pateant ex Orbe receptus?
Non ita. Sunt nobis reditus ad Regna paterna
Regna Dei: genus unde animi duxere perennes.

It is true, as Maittaire has remarked, that in all the Latin poems there is no mention of Jesus Christ or His merits. But we must remember, first, that in the Latin poems of the most pious men of the age the aim was always to imitate the ancients, and that Deus and Divi are usually the only expressions made use of in reference to the Deity: and next, as Née de la Rochelle has remarked sensibly enough, that the author had said in his letter which is at the commencement of the work 'that the birth of his son had furnished him with the opportunity of writing short precepts for guiding youth in the ways of prudence'; and that we must therefore not impute it to him as a crime if he has not reduced them into the form of a theological catechism, where he would not only have had to speak of Jesus Christ and His merits, but to have defended the three Persons of the Trinity.

But the translation, or rather paraphrase, is at least not open to this objection. After a few introductory lines it thus commences:—

En premier lieu, ta foy ce poinct tiendra,
Qu'il est ung Dieu tout puissant, et unicque
En ses effectz: et si ce sans replicque
Tu crois par foy, et en luy ta fiance
Soit toute mise (o dieu quelle asseurance,
O quel repos) allors tu congnoistras,
Comme en tout bien, et honneur accroistras.

The conclusion is most emphatic as to the immortality of the soul:—

La Mort est bonne, et nous prive de mal,
La Mort est bonne, et nous oste du val

Calamiteux : et puis nous donne entrée
Au Ciel (le Ciel des Ames est contrée) ;
Prens doncq en gré, quand d'icy partiras,
Et par la Mort droict au Ciel t'en iras.
En cest endroict il ne fault avoir foy
A ceulz disantz (et ne scavent pourquoy)
L'Ame, et le Corps tous deux mourir ensemble.
L'Ame est du Ciel, a son Pere resemble
(C'est Dieu) qui n'ha, et ne peult avoir fin :
Aussi n'ha il l'Ame au Corps mise, affin
Qu'avecq le Corps par la Mort soit mortelle.
Croy (et est vray) que l'Ame est immortelle,
Et que de Dieu a prins son origine,
Qui ne meurt poinct, et que Mort n'extermine
De l'heritage aux biens vivantz promis,
De l'heritage ou nous serons tous myz
Par le merite (o divine clemence)
De Jesu Christ : et en telle fiance
Meurs, quand plaira a Dieu d'icy t'ouster,
Ou aultresfois luy a pleu te bouter.[1]

[1] If any reader has sufficient interest in the two poems to compare them together in the reprint given by Techener in 1830, he will find not only that the *Avant Naissance* is a paraphrase rather than a translation, but that there are three passages in it—two of considerable length—which are neither translated from nor based upon anything in the original Latin. It has been my good fortune to find in the Bibliothèque Nationale an interleaved copy of the *Genethliacum*, with several manuscript *accessiones autoris*. These *accessiones*, of which the paper, the ink, and the handwriting are all of the sixteenth century, I believe to be in the autograph of Dolet, and the volume has every internal appearance of having been prepared by him for a new edition. (I say *internal appearance*, for the binding is comparatively modern, and has been put on since the additions were written. These latter have been clipped in the binding. The last few letters and in one or two cases the last word of the additions are wanting to several leaves.) The additions are three in number, and are translations, or rather paraphrases, of the three passages in the *Avant Naissance*, of which no traces are to be found in the *Genethliacum*.

The first addition comes in after the line

Re sine nullus eris : nostro sic vivitur ævo,

and is as follows :—

Præterea, quem urget vitio proclivis egestas
In scelus omne ruit, casus projectus in omneis
Non tardante metu, non spe meliore vetante.
Tam deforme malum ne te vehementius angat
Et vel nolentem ad crudelia crimina raptet
Frugi esto et moderate partis utere rebus.

This, the least important of the additions, and I think also the least in poetical merit, is a translation of the passage in the *Avant Naissance* beginning

Et d'avantage il te fault regarder.

The next addition has relation to the choice of a wife, and comes in after the line

Felices liceat vitam sine lite molesta.

Its French equivalent will be found in two passages, the one of eight lines, beginning

Saiche, mon filz que la beaulté de celle,

and the other of five lines, beginning

Ce bien, et heur, tous gracieux esbatz.

The addition is as follows :—

Forma perit : dos tandem etiam consumitur ingens
At remanent mores uxoris et ingenium trux.
Non te connubium assidua anxietate fatiget
Quod bene contractum lætos subolescit in usus
Et velut alta quies petitur non causa doloris
In quod sancitum est dabitur si forte jugalis
Duxeris uxorem dignam placidoque hymenæo.

The longest and by far the most interesting of the additions comes in after the passage in which the writer, with a good sense, rare in days when the military calling took rank far above all others, had advised his son not to adopt the profession of arms. Yet when he came to write his *Avant Naissance*, he remembered that in case of an invasion it might become the duty of every citizen to aid in the defence of his country, and he followed his warnings against war with a long and vigorous passage, commencing—

Mais je veulx bien, que la cas advenant,
Qu'en ton päis il y eust guerre ouverte,
Tu craignes moins de la vie la perte,
Que par cruelz et felons ennemys,
En servitude a jamais tu sois mys.

In preparing his new edition he paraphrases the same idea in Latin. The addition is intended to come in after the line of the *Genethliacum*,

Et dederit signum sociis, ut pressius instent

He amends this line, and then proceeds with a new passage :—

Prætulerit notam sociis ut præscius instent
Sed tamen in patrias sedes si barbara signa
Irrumpant animam pro libertate paratus
Fundere certa audax ; hoste succumbere pejus
Morte puta : quid enim dictu crudelius, hostem
Quam spectare serum patrios popularier agros.
Et (velut indomitam rabie exagitante Leonem)
In laribus sævire suis, incendere tecta,
Uxorem stuprare ; sinu privare parentum
Lactantem sobolem tibi rebus denique cunctis
Ablatis juga dura oppresso imponere collo.
His vitam postpone malis ; servire ferarum est,
Non hominum. Prius aura tibi quam candida desit
Libertas nec in hostes armis incide victus.

Dolet appears to have reprinted the *Genethliacum* in 1540, and it is not improbable that the interleaved copy in the Bib. Nat. may be the one used for the new edition, and the additions may have been inserted therein. I have been unable to discover a copy of the edition of 1540, but it appears (No. 131) in the *Catalogue d'une Collection de Livres rares et précieux de M. La Roche la Carelle*, Potier, Paris, 1859 (communicated to me by M. Baudrier), which describes the edition as 'plus rare que celle de 1539'; and in the *Catalogue des Livres de M. de Boze*, fol. 1745 (p. 113), and 8vo, 1753 (p. 174, No. 886), also in the Catalogue of the Yemeniz sale, No. 1533. The Bib. Nat. has two copies of the edition of 1539, but has not one of that of 1540.

CHAPTER XVII

Grammarian and Translator

L'idiome d'un peuple, c'est son verbe, son âme.—Philarète Chasles.

ESIDES the other great works which Dolet had planned was one upon the French tongue, the rules of which, then unsettled, he desired to reduce to order, and to treat with the fulness and accuracy of which up to that time Latin and Greek had alone been thought worthy. The work was to be entitled *L'Orateur Françoys*.[1] It was in 1540 that he published three tracts, as an instalment of this work, under the following title: *La*

[1] It is referred to by Joachim du Bellay at the end of the first part of the *Défense de la Langue Françoise*, 1549. 'Je n'ignore point qu'Estienne Dolet, homme de bon jugement en nostre vulgaire, a formé *l'Orateur François*, que quelqu'un (peut estre) amy de la mémoire de l'auteur et de la France, mettra de brief et fidèlement en lumière.'

Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre: D'advantage, de la punctuation de la langue Francoyse; Plus Des accents d'ycelle. The work is dedicated to one who was not less distinguished as a writer than as a soldier and statesman, Guillaume du Bellay-Langei. The address is as follows: *Estienne Dolet, à Monseigneur de Langei humble salut et recongnoissance de sa liberalité envers luy.*

'I am not ignorant,' he says, 'that many will be much surprised at seeing this work proceeding from my pen, since in time past I have professed and still profess myself entirely devoted to the Latin tongue, but for what I now do I give two reasons, the one that my regard for the honour of my country is such that I wish to find every possible means of illustrating it, and I cannot do so better than by celebrating its language as the Greeks and Romans have done theirs. The other reason is that I have not given myself up to this exercise without abundant examples from others. As to the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, they have never taken any other instrument for their eloquence than their mother tongue. Of the Greeks there are as witnesses, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Homer, while of the Latins I produce Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, Virgil, and Ovid, none of whom have deserted their own language in order to obtain renown in another, and indeed they despised any other tongue than their own, except so far as some Romans learned Greek in order to make themselves acquainted with the arts and sciences treated by the Greek authors. As to the moderns, Leonard Aretin, Sannazar, Petrarch, and Bembo among the Italians, and in France, Budé, Bouille,[1] and Master Jacques Sylvius, have done as I am doing. It is thus not without the example of many excellent persons that I have undertaken this labour, which you, full as you are of good judg-

[1] Charles Boville.

ment, will receive not as anything perfect in the way of a demonstration of our language, but only as a commencement of such a work; for I know that when it was wished to reduce the Greek and Latin languages to a system, this was not accomplished by one man but by many, and the same thing will equally happen with respect to the French language, and gradually by means of the labour of learned men it will also be brought into the same state of perfection that these are. For this reason I beg of you to take my labour in good part, and if it does not completely reform our language, I hope you will think that it is at least a commencement of an undertaking which may ultimately arrive at such a result that foreigners shall no longer be able to call us barbarians.'

This letter is dated Lyons, the 31st of May 1540, and is followed by a dedication to the French people, in which the author explains the plan of the work of which this is the first instalment. 'During six years past,' he says, 'taking some hours from my principal study, which is the Greek and Latin languages, and wishing to illustrate the French by all means in my power, I have composed in our language a work entitled *L'Orateur Françoys*, which treats on the following subjects: Grammar, Orthography, Accents, Pronunciation; the origin of certain expressions; the manner of translating from one tongue into another: the art of Oratory, and the art of Poetry. But since the work is of great importance, and one which requires great labour, knowledge, and judgment, I shall postpone the publication of it for two or three years, so that it may not be issued too hastily. . . . If I knew that my work would be agreeable to you, I should be more inclined to take pains with it and to complete it. I expect however it will have more success with posterity, than with the present age, for the course of human affairs is such, that the excellence of

the living is always envied and disparaged by detractors, who think to increase their own reputation by despising the labours of others. But the man of knowledge and of good judgment will pay no attention to such people except to laugh at them, and so doing I shall pursue my attempts, and await the legitimate praise of posterity, and not expect that of the living, who are too full of ingratitude and ill-will. Content yourselves for the present with this little work, and consider the affection which I bear to my own reputation to be a pledge that some time or other I shall give you the present work completed.' He then proceeds as usual with complaints of his enemies and detractors. The tract *On the manner of properly translating from one Language to another*, is marked by much ability, originality, and soundness of judgment; and although the five principal rules which the author lays down have in the three centuries which have since passed become mere commonplaces, they were certainly not so in the sixteenth century, and even now do not appear to be borne in mind by all or even the majority of translators. These five rules are—First, that the translator must perfectly understand the sense and the matter of the author whom he translates; Second, that the translator must perfectly understand the language in which the author writes, and the language in which the translation is to be written; Third, that the translator must not translate literally word for word, but so that the meaning of the author shall be expressed, due regard being paid to the idioms of both languages. The fourth rule, and one which is especially to be observed in translating into modern languages (particularly from Latin or Greek into French), is, that the translator should use as far as possible words really belonging to the language into which he translates, and as seldom as possible those words which are mere modernised forms of Latin words. His fifth rule is that

nombres oratoires, by which he means harmony and rhythm, should be aimed at by the translator.

The other two tracts, on punctuation and accents, are chiefly interesting in connection with the history of the French language, and however little may be their real value from the point of view of scientific philology, they were certainly not unimportant contributions to French grammar, and as such are favourably referred to in the French Grammar of Ramus (Paris, Wechel, 1572), where the writer places Dolet among the grammarians who had before that time attempted the reformation of the mode of writing French. On one point particularly (to which M. Boulmier calls attention) Dolet first suggested a reform, which has now after three centuries become completely established, namely, that the plural of words ending in *e* long should be formed by adding *s* and not *z*. Thus *voluptés*, *dignités*, should be written, instead of *voluptez*, *dignitez*. Nor on another point is his work without importance in the history of the French tongue. He first, according to Henry Estienne,[1] introduced the expression since so commonly used *faire de bons offices*, where *faire de bons services* had formerly been used, and translated *officium* by *office* instead of *devoir*.

The volume ends with the following dixain of Charles de Sainte Marthe :—

Au Lecteur Françoys

Pourquoy es tu d'aultruy admirateur,
Vilipendant le tien propre langage ?
Est ce (Françoys) que tu n'as instructeur,
Qui d'iceluy te remonstre l'usage ?
Maintenant as en ce grand advantage,
Si vers ta langue as quelcque affection :

[1] *Deux Dialogues du Nouveau Langage François Italianizé, par Henri Estienne.* Paris. Liseux, 1883, t. I. p. 105.

Dolet t'y donne une introduction,
Si bonne en tout, qu'il n'y a que redire :
Car il t'enseigne (o noble invention !)
D'escrire bien, bien tourner, et bien dire.

These three tracts had the greatest immediate success of any original[1] work of Dolet. A second edition was given by the author in 1541, a third in 1542, and a fourth in 1543, and they were subsequently printed by others, the tract upon accents and punctuation at least nine times, and the *Manière de bien traduire* at least three times before the end of the century.

After laying down in his tract the principles on which a good translation must be based, and the rules which a translator ought to follow, Dolet did not shrink from inviting the world to judge how far he himself was qualified for the office of a translator, and to what extent he was able to carry his rules into practice. Two years after the first edition of his tracts he gave to the world a translation of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares* of Cicero, and a year later, whilst an inmate of the prison of Lyons, a translation of the first three books of the *Tusculan Disputations*.

'If,' he says in his preface to the *Epîtres Familiaires*, 'I have laboured to acquire praise and fame in the Latin language, I wish no less to become renowned in my mother tongue. Pursuing this aim, I do not propose to publish only my own compositions (such as the three tracts taken from my *Orateur Françoys* which have already appeared, and the great dictionary of the vulgar tongue of which I shall very soon print the commencement, and my translation of the *Tusculans* of Cicero which will hereafter appear), but also all sorts of other good books, which I shall be

[1] I use the word 'original' because Dolet's translation of the *Familiar Epistles* of Cicero had a still greater success, and ran through many more editions than these tracts.

satisfied have issued from a good workshop, whether Latin or Italian, ancient or modern, and whether originally written in French or translated. This present work of Cicero, some time since translated by me, will be an evidence of my intention. I am not ignorant that this work has already been translated into French. But that translation was certainly made in spite of the French and Latin Muses ; for besides the baldness of the style, the worthy translator has so completely corrupted the sense, that Apollo only could discover what he intended to express, a thing altogether contrary to the divine clearness and ease of Cicero. I believe you will find me here a little better accoutred. Read however, and then you shall judge more certainly. . . .

'In the meantime I wish to warn you that the French language is not sufficiently copious to express many things with the same conciseness as the Latin. If then I sometimes use convenient circumlocutions, you must not be surprised, for one cannot do otherwise. This arises from the diversity of the two languages, for that which one expresses in one word, the other requires several for. Moreover, he who wishes to be an eminent and accurate translator must rightly consider the idioms and the expressions of each language.'

The merits of Dolet's translation of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares* were unquestionably great ; it was no mere adaptation of the translation of Guillaume Michel de Tours, which is not unfairly described in Dolet's preface, and which had been printed in 1537 and 1539.[1]

The work of Dolet was the independent translation of one who possessed the qualifications and followed the rules

[1] Guillaume Michel de Tours translated many Latin and Greek authors into French, and all equally ill. His original poems were not less wretched than his translations.

which he had himself laid down in *La Manière de bien traduire*. He perfectly understood the matter and sense of Cicero. He perfectly understood the Latin and French languages. He is literal where the idioms of the two languages admit. He is careful never by too great adherence to verbal accuracy to interfere with the true sense, which is always what he aims at, and although he does not attempt to translate such words as *auspices*, *augur*, *consul*, *dictator*, he is careful, as far as consistent with the subject-matter, to use words really belonging to the French language, and not mere modernised forms of Latin words.

Dolet's book had nothing in common with those translations so popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to which the appellation was not unhappily given of *Les Belles Infidèles;* where Pomponius becomes *Monsieur de Pomponne*, Trebatius *Monsieur de Trébace*, and *Postumia tua* and *Servius noster* are rendered by *Madame votre femme* and *Monsieur votre fils*, and where the aim of the translator avowedly was to write what he thought his author ought to have said, and would have said, had he been a Frenchman of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, rather than to render, as carefully as the difference between the two languages would admit, what he actually did say. The work of Dolet was a happy medium between the extreme verbal literalness of some early French translations, and the loose paraphrases which came into vogue a century later; and we may I think say without hesitation, that no French translation of any Latin author which had up to that time appeared, can compare with it in accuracy, in scholarship, or in style.[1]

[1] This is perhaps not saying very much for it. The style is often confused and never elegant. Dolet certainly was not a Ciceronian in his French compositions. Yet I am not sure whether the judgment of MM. Haag (*La France Protestante*, First edition, art. Dolet) is not too severe:

It soon became deservedly popular, and continued for nearly a century to be the standard translation of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares*. It was reprinted upwards of thirty times,[1] and the translation of Simon Bernard, first printed in 1667 and several times reprinted, is rather an adaptation of it suited to the tastes of the age, than an independent work. Little benefit, however, in money or reputation seems to have accrued to the unfortunate translator. The printing of the work was completed on the 28th of April 1542; only three months elapsed before Dolet was thrown into prison, and the remainder of his life is little more than a record of his imprisonments and trials. Few copies of the original edition would have got into circulation, and the remainder were no doubt confiscated, and burnt with his other books.[2] There was no one to enforce the Royal privilege, and the twelve reprints which appeared during the time that it existed went to enrich the printers of Paris and Lyons.

The translation of the first three books of the *Tusculan Disputations* soon followed. With much greater merit it never attained the popularity of the *Epîtres Familiaires*.

'Le succès qu'a obtenu cette traduction est sans doute un témoignage incontestable de son mérite, mais ne prouve rien néanmoins quant à son élégance. La lecture en est on ne peut plus fatigante. . . . Rien de moins familier que son style.'

[1] Of these editions I have seen copies of twenty, and I have given in the Appendix a list of thirty-four, with the authorities for their existence. Brunet in his last edition was only able to indicate *eight*. No less than fourteen editions appeared in the seven years following the first appearance of the book. Dolet only translated the letters written by Cicero. François de Belleforest in 1561 added a translation of those written to Cicero and a few complimentary letters which Dolet had omitted. Thirteen editions include these. The latest I have seen is that of Rouen, 1624, but Née de la Rochelle notices one of 1630.

[2] A half-burned copy (*brûlé dans les marges*) exists in the library of Lyons.

Completed and published whilst the author was lying in the prison of *La Rouane* at Lyons under sentence of death, it bears marks, as might be expected, of haste and want of care in its printing. It is probable that it never got into circulation, but that the whole impression, with the exception of very few copies, was confiscated and burnt, a fate which the injudicious epistle to the King prefixed to it by way of preface could hardly have failed to insure. For three centuries the first edition of the book disappeared, and its existence was only inferred from the editions given (without the preface) by Ruelle in 1544 and Sabon in 1549. A few years since, however, a copy of the original edition was discovered in the public library of Dôle, and the late M. Baudrier was the fortunate possessor of another copy.[1]

The epistle to the King, which has not hitherto been noticed by any writer, is to us the most interesting part of the book, throwing as it does much light on the cause of Dolet's misfortunes, and on his trial.[2] The translation itself was a labour of love. Shallow and unscientific as the philosophy of Cicero appears to us, it was certainly accepted by Dolet, not only as true, but as a rational and adequate theory of life and death, and the consolations in his misfortunes which he was unable to find in Christianity he obtained from the *Tusculan Disputations*. The principle that pervades the whole of the work, *i.e.* that man possesses within himself the means of securing his own happiness, was one which specially commended itself to Dolet, and though we may think the enthusiastic admiration which has been given to the *Tusculans*—by Erasmus as

[1] I have found five reprints of Dolet's translations of the *Tusculans* all printed before 1550. Each contains only the first three books, showing I think clearly that three only were printed by Dolet.

[2] See *ante*, p. 339 and *post*, chap. xxi. *passim*.

well as by many inferior men—somewhat misplaced and exaggerated, we can well understand their deserved popularity. The epistle to the King is followed by the following huictain :—

Jectez icy l'œil
Touts passionnés,
Et serez de dueil
Tost abandonnés.
Les biens ordonnés
Par philosophie
Icy sont donnés
A cil qui s'y fie.

Besides the translations of these two works of Cicero and that of the Axiochus and Hipparchus (to be noticed hereafter), Dolet has been credited with a considerable number of others,—some perhaps rightly, but others of which he was only the printer or editor. He was never content to be merely a printer, but to most of the books that issued from his press he acted as editor, adding prefaces (*epîtres liminaires* as his process expresses it), odes, marginal notes, or other additions, and it is not always easy to decide how much we owe to his pen, and of how much he was merely the printer. *Le Chevalier Chrestien*, translated from the Latin of Erasmus and printed by Dolet in 1542, although by many authorities attributed to him, is really a reprint of the translation of Louis de Berquin. *Le vrai moyen de bien et catholiquement se confesser*, also from the Latin of Erasmus, may possibly, though I think not probably, have been translated by Dolet. He nowhere claims it as his, and it appears in his process as one of the *livres damnés et reprouvés, contenant propositions erronées* printed (not written) by him with *epîtres liminaires excitatives a la lecture d'iceux*. His edition of *L'Internelle Consolation* (a translation of the *De Imitatione Christi*) has been

shown by Barbier (who had seen an imperfect copy) to be only a reprint of the old translation. The French translation of the paraphrase by Campensis of the Psalms of David, which Dolet printed in 1542, is attributed to him by Du Verdier and Boulmier, but it is clear that neither of them ever saw a copy of the work. Yet after the doubt expressed by Née de la Rochelle, M. Boulmier might have hesitated before stating that it was *imprimé et traduit par Dolet*. The book is not so rare but that a copy might have been found, and a reference to the preface would have shown that the translation was by another hand. Du Verdier no doubt confounded it with a translation of the Psalms into French printed by Dolet, together with the Canticles, and a short tract of St. Athanasius, certainly translated by him from the Latin, in the same year as the paraphrase of Campensis. Of all these Dolet may have been the translator; yet so far as the Psalms and Canticles are concerned the translation clearly is not an independent work, but only a revision of one of the former translations, and it presents no special merits or faults entitling it to notice. The tract of St. Athanasius on the Psalms, Dolet states that he had translated, not from the original Greek, but from the Latin translation of Politian.[1]

[1] Of the translation of the Philippics of Cicero attributed by La Croix du Maine to Dolet no other trace exists, and it is probable that the word Philippics is an error for Tusculans, since no mention is made of the latter in the *Bibliothèque Françoize*.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Historian

Large desires with most uncertain issues.
Longfellow.

ISTORICAL studies had at all times attracted Dolet, and the *opus magnum* to the composition of which he proposed to devote some years of his life, and from which he hoped to acquire an immortality of fame, was a history of his own times,—a work which we cannot but regret that the persecutions and imprisonments which occupied so large a part of the last five years of his life prevented him from accomplishing.

The reign of Francis I., although one of the most brilliant as well as interesting and important in French history, is strangely deficient in contemporary historians. Philippe de Comines had been not merely an annalist or a chronicler,

but a philosophical historian desirous of arriving at the truth among conflicting statements, of placing his facts with a due regard to perspective and to their relative importance, and not only of ascertaining the facts themselves, but of tracing their causes, their connection, and their consequences, and capable of drawing just conclusions from the facts he collected. If we admit that he wrote with a purpose, and was not always, perhaps not generally impartial when the acts and interests of Louis XI. were concerned, we only ascribe to him faults which are shared by some of the most eminent of the historical writers of the nineteenth century. But his immediate successors were as inferior to him as his predecessors had been. From the point where his memoirs end (1498) to 1546 where de Thou commences the history of his own time, France is again reduced to chroniclers and annalists. Paul Émile, Beaucaire de Peguillon, and Arnoul Le Ferron, many as are their merits and great as is the historical value of their works, are as inferior to Comines in all those points which distinguish a historian from a chronicler, as they are to his predecessors Froissart and Monstrelet in picturesqueness of style and interest of narrative, while the two du Bellays, far superior to their Latin contemporaries both in style and matter, confine themselves almost entirely to the events in which they respectively took part. That Dolet would not have been inferior to Paul Émile or to Arnoul Le Ferron, the fragment or sketch which we have of his history of Francis I. lets us see plainly; but the lofty conception which he had formed of the office and duty of the historian, and of the studies, the labours, the preparation which were needed for it, joined with his judicious criticism on the method of writing history then in vogue, lead us to believe that had life and leisure been afforded him he would have left us a narrative of the reign of

Francis I. which would at least have placed him in the foremost ranks of those who wrote history in France between Philippe de Comines and Jacques Auguste de Thou.

In the letter to Budé prefixed to the first volume of his *Commentaries*, and in the dedication of the volume to Francis I., Dolet had spoken of his intention, when the *Commentaries* were completed, of devoting himself to composing the history of his own time, and had asked for the King's and the great scholar's approval of his design. Two years later his plan was more matured, and in the dedication and preface to the second volume he explains it more at length.

'Do you wish to know,' he writes to Budé, 'what literary works I am intending in future to undertake? For some years to come I shall devote myself, in the first place, to producing in as perfect a manner as possible my long-promised third volume. Then the great object of my studies will be the history of our own times. But this work I shall scarcely be able to accomplish without the assistance of the King. It will be necessary for me to travel over the whole of Italy. I must visit Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Bigorre, Béarn, Gascony, Armagnac, Guyenne, in order that I may carefully examine the sites of those places which I shall have to describe when I narrate the battles fought there. In this manner the accuracy of my descriptions will be greatly promoted. But how is the cost of these journeys to be defrayed, where could I look to obtain it but from the King? From him also must be obtained the state papers, the instructions sent to ambassadors, and the despatches from them, which will be needed in order that I may learn the causes and reasons of the plans which have been made, of the discords which have arisen, of the wars which have been undertaken,

of the battles which have been fought, of the treaties which have followed the wars, and of the matrimonial alliances which have been contracted. If these documents are, as I hope they will be, furnished to me in abundance, and if an opportunity is afforded me of enjoying the leisure necessary for such a work, I shall do all that is possible to be done by one who is extremely diligent, and a most fervent lover of his country; but if by any chance those things which I have a right to hope for are denied me, and I find my design neglected, I shall lay aside my plan of writing history, and shall look out for other subjects for literary labour.'

In this volume of the *Commentaries* he twice refers to his intended Histories, to which he tells us, as soon as he has completed and published his third volume, he shall devote the rest of his life, and if, when his great task, the history of his own time, is completed, life and leisure are still left to him, he proposes to write the lives of the Kings of France, after the manner of Suetonius.[1]

A history such as he contemplated required abundant leisure, abundant pecuniary means, and abundant materials, such as could only be obtained by the assistance of the King and his ministers. None of these were afforded him, and he seems before long to have come to the conclusion that he must lay aside all hope of accomplishing anything like the complete and exhaustive work, which he so carefully sketches in his letter to Budé. But he determined on a less ambitious work, and one better suited to his scanty leisure and materials. In 1539 he wrote and printed a history of the reign of Francis I. in Latin verse, under the title of *Francisci Valesii Gallorum Regis Fata*. It has two dedications, one to the King, the other to Pierre Duchâtel now advanced to the bishopric of Tulle. To

[1] 2 *Com.* 1385.

judge from the commendatory verses of Pierre Tolet, Jean Raynier, Guillaume Durand, Barthélemi Aneau, Antoine du Moulin, and Jacques Bertrandi, all men of considerable literary reputation and ability, it possesses very high merit. It deals almost entirely with military affairs, and is certainly a not unsuccessful imitation of Lucan, or of the poem of Petronius on the civil wars of Rome. A few months later the author translated or rather paraphrased it into French prose, and printed his translation under the title of *Les Gestes de Francoys de Valois Roy de France*. The style of the translation, like that of the original, is too rhetorical. The work is composed according to the approved classical models, the generals make speeches after the manner of Livy or Polybius; yet the book is a useful compendium of the wars of Francis I., and I have found it generally accurate as to facts, though too full of flattery of Francis. It can hardly, however, be accepted as an adequate specimen of its author's power of writing history in more favourable circumstances.[1]

But the books were successful and popular. The prose history was reprinted by the author in 1543, with a continuation bringing it down to that year, and it was at least twice reprinted by others in the next five years.

[1] M. Boulmier, whom I willingly recognise as a more competent judge than I am of such a matter, takes a much more favourable view of the style of *Les Gestes de Francoys de Valois* than I am able to do. The reader who desires to judge for himself will find Dolet's account of the battle of Marignan extracted by M. Boulmier (pp. 183-191), who remarks upon it, 'Il y a, si je ne me trompe, du mouvement, du drame, et de la vie, dans ce vaste tableau d'histoire nationale, dans ce récit à la Tite-Live d'une bataille épique à laquelle nous pouvons encore songer avec orgueil. . . . Malgré des latinismes un peu trop fréquents, la prose française de notre Estienne me paraît presque toujours à la hauteur du noble sujet qu'elle retrace.'

CHAPTER XIX

Marot and Rabelais

Et de ses vers qui ont dompté la mort
Les sœurs luy ont sepulture bastie
Jusques au ciel. Ainsi la *mort n'y mord.*
Joachim du Bellay.

L'écrivain le plus original et le plus éminent de la renaissance, la véritable incarnation de l'époque.—Guizot.

OF the French men of letters of the first half of the sixteenth century, only two can be said really to live. Budé, whose friendship Dolet thought would confer an immortality upon him, and whose works he prophesied would never cease to be the delight of the studious, is a name and nothing more; his works are relegated to the class of 'old books,' and rarely (except his treatise *De asse et partibus ejus*) find a place on the shelves of collectors, or in the catalogues of the booksellers. Salmon Macrin, the Gallic

Horace, is no longer either reprinted or read, but more fortunate than his more learned contemporary, he is at least purchased, occasionally quoted, and placed respectfully on the shelves of the French bibliophile. Mellin de St. Gelais, together with other poets who wrote in French, after a long interval of repose has been galvanised into the appearance of life in reprints, of which the paper, the printing, and the prefaces, leave nothing to be desired. Bonaventure Des Periers, though *caviare* to the multitude, has never wanted select though fit readers. But Marot and Rabelais alone of the writers of the period have never lost the popularity which they acquired in their own time. There has never been a period in which they were not both read and reprinted. Their reputation has steadily risen, not only with the multitude, but with men of thought and culture ; editions of, and commentaries upon them are constantly issuing from the press ; and though we shall be far from the ridiculous error of placing the bright, natural, and graceful father of modern French poetry upon the same lofty pedestal as the wise, the witty, and the learned author of *Pantagruel*, we may yet couple them together as the only two French authors of the first half of the sixteenth century whose books are still in every one's hands, and who have certainly many more readers and admirers, now that three centuries have passed away, than they had in their own days.

It is his connection with these two eminent writers, more than anything except his death, that has preserved the memory of Étienne Dolet from absolute oblivion, and has made his name at least, familiar to every educated Frenchman. Of both he was at one time the intimate friend ; of the works of both he was the printer. Marot addressed to his '*cher amy Dolet*' at least two odes, besides the prefatory letter to the first complete edition of his works. None of the biographers of Rabelais have omitted to mention his

sending to Dolet from Rome the receipt for the mysterious *Garum*, nor the ode in which Dolet celebrates the anatomical skill of the great physician.

For some years the three men were united by a close friendship, a friendship based on community of tastes and community of sentiments. All agreed in an ardent love of letters and of intellectual progress, in hatred of superstition and bigotry; and though Marot, by the fact that his translation of the Psalms into metre has been ever since sung in the temples of the Huguenots, has a place among the apostles of the French Protestant Church, yet there is reason to think that theological dogma was as uninteresting to him as to his two friends, that his sympathy with Protestantism was with its negative side only, and that to him, as to the great master, the '*grand peut être*' was a problem wholly unsolvable, and of but slender interest.[1]

It is probable that Dolet's acquaintance with both these eminent men commenced in the latter part of 1534. On his arrival at Lyons, Rabelais, besides holding the office of Physician to the Great Hospital, was practising there as a doctor of medicine, with a high reputation for both learning and skill, but certainly was not generally identified with *Alcofribas Nasier*, with whom indeed only the vulgar had then made acquaintance. And it is not improbable that it was under his care that Dolet placed himself, or would be placed by Gryphius, for treatment, immediately on his arrival when sick with fever. Marot he would find in Paris when he arrived in the following October. But we cannot be certain whether he then made the poet's acquaintance, or whether this was not until the end of 1536, when Marot,

[1] See on the opinions of Marot and Rabelais, Sir Walter Besant's interesting monograph on Rabelais, and—clearly by the same hand—an article in the *British Quarterly Review* for July 1873 (vol. 58), on the causes of the failure of the French Reformation.

after nearly two years' exile on account of his heretical opinions, was allowed to return to France, and spent several months at Lyons. Immediately afterwards we find them on terms of great intimacy, and Dolet addressed to Rabelais an ode, *De mutua inter se et Clementem Marotum amicitia*, and one to Marot congratulating him on his return from exile, which thus begins :—

Jam satis afflixit variis te casibus atrox
Fortuna : sperare incipe
Collige jamque animum : Cœlum non semper inumbrant
Nubes : redit tandem prior
Lux. Nec ponto alto semper nox incubat aspris
Horrenda tempestatibus.

Marot and Rabelais were each of the party which assembled to congratulate Dolet on receiving the royal pardon for the slaughter of Compaing, and to take leave of him on his departure for Lyons ; and in the same year the former addressed to him an '*estrenne*' commencing,

Apres avoir estrené Damoyselles,
Amy Dolet, je te veulx estrener.

In the second volume of the *Commentaries*[1] Dolet thus speaks of the poet :—'In our days, among those who write in the French tongue, the first place is due to Clément Marot, a poet superior to all others, and most happy in his poetic vein. The only thing to be desired for him is that he might find fortune more propitious than heretofore, for hitherto she has incessantly heaped upon one who is distinguished by all excellence, every possible injury and outrage, and has harassed him with the most bitter persecution.' Marot celebrated the publication of the *Commentaries* by the following ode :—

[1] Col. 403.

Le noble esprit de Cicero Romain,
Voyant ça-bas maint cerveau foible et tendre
Trop maigrement avoir mys plume en main
Pour de ses dictz la force faire entendre,
Laissa le ciel, en terre se vint rendre,
Au corps entra de Dolet, tellement
Que luy sans autre a nous se fait comprendre
Et n'a changé que de nom seulement.

In 1538 Marot prepared for the press a complete edition of his poems, comprising not only the *Adolescence Clémentine* (which he had first published in 1532), but also *La suite de l'adolescence*, *Les épigrammes*, and *Le Premier Livre de la Métamorphose d'Ovide*. The printing and publication of this edition he entrusted to Dolet, and addressed to him the well-known letter which served as a preface, and which bears date the last day of July 1538 :—

'The injury which has been done me, dear friend Dolet, by those who have already printed my works is so great and so outrageous, that it has both touched my reputation and endangered my person. For by a greedy desire of selling at a greater price and more rapidly that which was already selling well enough, they have added to my works several others which are not mine ; some of which are composed in a frigid and inelegant manner (so throwing upon me another's unskilfulness), and others are full of scandal and sedition. . . . I have therefore omitted from this edition not only the bad, but the good things which have been ascribed to me, but with the composition of which I had nothing to do, contenting myself with the genuine offspring of my own muse. . . . And after having revised both the old and the new, changed for the better the order of the book, and corrected a thousand trifling errors of the press, I have determined to send the whole to you, in order that under colour of the ample privilege, which on account of your

great merits has been granted you by the King, you may, by reason of our friendship, reprint it not only as correctly as I send it to you, but still more so, which it will be easy for you to do, if only you give to it a diligence equal to your knowledge.'

In pursuance of his friend's request, Dolet superintended this complete edition of Marot's works through the press. It appeared before the end of 1538. The title-page is inscribed *A Lyon, au Logis de Monsieur Dolet*, and the same form is repeated on the false titles to the different divisions of the work, to each of which is prefixed a Latin ode by Dolet.[1]

[1] An almost identical edition appeared under the same date but with the name of Sebastian Gryphius on the title-page as the printer. The type is the same, and very nearly all the pages are identical. A few however, notably those where Dolet is referred to, are different. I was formerly disposed to think that Marot had entrusted the edition to Dolet, who not having yet set up his press, arranged with Gryphius for a joint edition, putting on part of the copies his own name, on the rest that of Gryphius. But I now incline to think that the following note of M. Georges Guiffrey in the fragment which he has published of a magnificent edition of the works of Marot (Paris, Jules Claye, vol. ii. p. 7), affords a more probable explanation. 'Au retour de son exil vers la fin de 1536, Marot, en passant par Lyon, eut l'occasion de se lier avec Gryphius. Il est vraisemblable que ce fut alors qu'il forma le projet de publier une édition plus correcte de ses œuvres, altérées, pendant son absence, par des réimpressions successives livrées au public sans son aveu. Ce fut pour cette édition que Marot composa la préface adressée *a ceulx qui par cy devant ont imprimé ses œuvres*, et le livre parut chez Gryphius sans mention de date. Vers le même temps, Dolet, ayant obtenu de François Ier un privilège d'imprimeur, vint l'exploiter à Lyon. Marot retira son édition de chez Gryphius pour la mettre chez son ami. Tel est le motif qui le détermina à changer le feuillet de titre et à y placer le nom de Dolet, avec la date 1538 ; il lui offrit même la dédicace de son livre, au moyen d'un léger changement de mots. Enfin dans les *Épigrammes* (folios 11 et 21 verso) trois pièces, dont deux avec cette suscription *à Benest* et *à Germain Colin* sont remplacées par des vers adressés à Dolet.' The types, which are small Gothic letters, are identical in the two editions.

In 1542 Dolet, with the sanction of Marot, again reprinted his works, with the addition of the *Enfer* and other poems, and with a preface in prose addressed by Dolet to their common friend Lyon Jamet. He also gave a separate edition of the *Enfer*. In 1543 a third edition, still with the approval of Marot, issued from Dolet's press, with the addition of twenty psalms, which appeared for the first time. The edition of 1542, as well as that of 1543, contains the epistle to Dolet, and the latter's preface, but not his Latin odes.

But if we are to trust to the subsequent editors of Marot, the short interval which elapsed between the publication of the edition of 1543 and the death of Marot in 1544 saw the friendship which had so long subsisted between the two men changed, at least on the part of Marot, to bitter enmity. Shortly after the death of Marot several epigrams made by him in imitation of Martial were published which had not appeared during his life. Among them is an imitation of the epigram *In detractorem* (lib. v. lx.), commencing,

> Adlatres licet usque nos, et usque
> Et gannitibus improbis lacessas.

It is addressed *A Estienne Dolet*, and is as follows :—

> Tant que vouldras, jecte feu et fumée
> Mesdy de moy à tort et à travers
> Si n'auras tu jamais la renommée
> Que de longtemps tu cherches par mes vers,
> Et non obstant tes gros tomes divers,
> Sans bruict mourras, celà est arresté :
> Car quel besoing est-il, homme pervers,
> Que lon te sache avoir jamais esté ? [1]

[1] I regret to be unable to state at what date or in what edition this epigram first appeared, but I think it probable that it was in the *Epigrammes de Clément Marot faictz a l'imitation de Martial ; plus, quelques aultres œuvres dudict Marot, non encores imprimées par cy-devant*, Poictiers,

Of the causes of the quarrel, if quarrel there was, we know nothing. Certain it is that the last authorised edition of the works of Marot given by the poet in his lifetime, a very few months before his death,[1] does not contain this ode, but does contain the two before quoted ; and this seems to show that the poet's friendly feelings towards Dolet were still unchanged, even though he had not entrusted him, probably for the sufficient reason that he was in prison, with the publication of this edition.

Marot died in September 1544, and no reference to him is found in any subsequent work of Dolet. The epigram which I have quoted gives all the information we have of the matter of the quarrel. Certainly if it was directed against Dolet, as Lenglet du Fresnoy has remarked, Marot did not show himself a true prophet when he wrote '*sans bruict mourras.*'[2]

Jeh. et Enguilbert de Marnef frères, 1547. No copy of this edition appears to be in the Bibliothèque Nationale, nor have I anywhere been able to see a copy. The earliest edition personally known to me in which this epigram appears is that of Rouille, Lyon, 1554, which also omits the two complimentary odes to Dolet above quoted. It is certain that this ode did not appear in any edition given by Marot in his lifetime.

[1] That of 1544, *à l'enseigne du Rocher.*

[2] The account given above contains really all that is known in reference to the alleged difference between Marot and Dolet, upon which editors and biographers of the poet have enlarged at length, and have indulged in conjectures altogether wanting in the smallest basis of fact, but injuriously reflecting on the unfortunate Dolet. Among the epigrams in imitation of Martial, printed for the first time after Marot's death, is the following :—

Contre l'inique, à Antoine du Moulin Masconnais, et Claude Galland.

Fuyez, fuyez (ce conseil je vous donne)
Fuyez le fol qui à tout mal s'adonne,
Et dont la mere en mal jour fut enceinte ;
Fuyez l'infame inhumaine personne
De qui le nom si mal cimbale et sonne
Qu'abhorré est de toute oreille saincte ;
Fuyez celuy qui sans honte ne crainte

Similarly unfortunate was the end of Dolet's friendship with Rabelais, though in this case we are not so entirely in the dark as to the causes of the rupture. Their intimacy was certainly at one time close. It was in all probability during Dolet's visit to Lyons in the autumn of 1534 that the dissection of the body of a man who had been hanged was performed by Rabelais at the great hospital in the presence of the students, the first occasion of the kind with which we are acquainted, being ten years before Vesalius made his anatomical demonstrations before the students at Padua. This dissection, at which it is not improbable Dolet was present, certainly caused a great sensation at

> Conte tout haut son vice hors d'usance,
> Et en fait gloire et y prend sa plaisance ;
> Qui s'aymera ne le frequente donc.
> O malheureux de perverse naissance,
> Bien heureux est qui fuit ta cognoissance,
> Et plus heureux qui ne te cogneut onc !

Half a century later an editor of Marot, François Mizière, fancying, apparently without any grounds except the character of the epigram, that *l'inique* referred to Dolet, inserted in the edition edited by him, printed at Niort by Thomas Portau in 1596, the following note after the ode beginning *Le noble esprit de Cicero Romain* :—'Entre ces épigrammes à l'imitation de Martial, y'en a un au dit Dolet, qui se commence "*Tant que vouldras, jecte feu et fumee*" et *semble* que le suivant soit encores contre lui ;' and then follows the above-cited ode *Contre l'inique*.

A hundred and thirty-six years afterwards (in 1731) Lenglet du Fresnoy repeated as his own the note of Mizière, and subsequent editors have given the epigram, on the authority apparently of du Fresnoy, as being directed against Dolet without a shadow of ground except the *semble* of François Mizière ; and M. Boulmier, generally so anxious to defend his hero, has not noticed upon what slight foundation the application of this epigram to Dolet rests, but has given it without hesitation as relating to his quarrel with Marot. But Mercier de St. Léger has gone yet further in a manuscript note (to which my attention was called by the kindness of M. Baudrier) to his copy of La Croix du Maine, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where after citing the note of Mizière he continues, 'l'éditeur s'est contenté de dire *et semble que le suivant* (Épigramme) soit encore contre lui. L'éditeur n'a osé rien affirmer, d'autant

Lyons, and Dolet wrote a long Latin ode to celebrate the event. The corpse is supposed thus to speak :—

Spectaculo lato expositus
Secor ; medicus doctissimus planum facit
Quam pulchre, et affabre, ordineque
Fabricata corpus est hominis rerum Parens.
Sectum frequens circumspicit
Corona miraturque molem corporis
Tanto artificio conditi.

Early in 1534 Cardinal Jean du Bellay—afterwards to become the chief patron and protector of Rabelais—had passed through Lyons on his way to Rome as ambassador from Francis to Clement VII. He persuaded Rabelais to accompany him as secretary, and it would no doubt be to the secretary that Dolet was afterwards indebted for an introduction to the Cardinal, to whom he dedicated his edition of the work of his friend Claude Cottereau, *De jure et privilegiis militum.* The Cardinal was just such a patron as Rabelais needed. 'Un jeune diable,' says M. Michelet[1]

plus que Marot s'étoit montré dans différentes pieces l'ami de Dolet. Quoi qu'il en soit, si cet *inique* est réellement Dolet il faut croire qu'il passoit pour Péderaste ou Nonconformiste ; car Marot dit à ses amis de fuir "celui qui, sans honte ni crainte conte tout haut son vice hors d'usance."' I think it right to cite the note of Mercier lest I should lay myself open to the charge of omitting anything which I know to the disparagement of Dolet, but it is not necessary to do more in defending him from the insinuation of the Abbé de St. Léger than to say that I find no ground for the charge, and no confirmation of it in any of the numerous attacks of which Dolet was the object. If Marot did intend Dolet by *l'inique*, and did intend the epigram to bear the meaning attributed to it by Mercier, he himself must only have discovered the vices of his quondam friend after he had been in close intimacy with him for more than seven years, and within a very few months or even weeks of his own death. But I confess I think it needless to go into a charge which rests simply on the *semble* of Mizière, and the inference from that to the *semble* of Mercier de St. Léger.

[1] *Hist. de France*, viii. 383.

(in 1534 however he was forty-two years of age), 'plein d'esprit, pénétrant, flatteur, amusant . . . ce bon et pieux personnage le parrain de Gargantua. . . . Évêque de Paris, Cardinal, il ne fût pas loin, dit-on, d'être Pape. La chose eût été piquante. Rabelais était son évangile.'

It was probably in 1537, on his return from his second journey to Rome with his patron, that Rabelais sent to Dolet the receipt for the mysterious Garum of the ancients, a species of sauce, of which the receipt had been up to that time lost. It was accompanied by a short poem in elegiacs, one of the very few pieces of Latin verse which we have of Rabelais. It begins,—

> Quod medici quondam tanti fecere priores
> Ignotum nostris, en tibi mitto Garum.

Dolet's reply was as follows :—

> Tuo ingenio, Rabelæse, Garum salsamentum
> Ætate ab antiqua reductum est. Jam nostris,
> Marote, versibus celebretur animose,
> Quando palatum utrique nostrum tam belle
> Irritat, et stomachum recreat tam odorato
> Sapore. Res tam grata non est reticenda.

Dolet's volume of poems printed in 1538 contains three poems in honour of Rabelais, two of them being those I have already quoted.

The second book of 'Rabelais' (the first of *Pantagruel*) had first seen the light at the end of 1532 ; it was reprinted at least twelve times in the ten following years. Several of the reprints were without the sanction of the author, who was at first not known. The first book (*Gargantua*), as we now have it, was first printed in 1535, and several successive reprints appeared in the few following years. The books gave, as was to be expected, dire offence to the Sorbonne, and when the name of the author began to be bruited

about, there can be little doubt that a prosecution for heresy was imminent, and that Rabelais felt in danger of his life. Cardinal du Bellay was entirely unable to stop, or even to moderate, the persecutions which the affair of the placards had caused to rage with increased rigour, and as Rabelais had no desire to be 'burned alive like a red-herring, being by nature dry enough already,'[1] he determined to conduct himself in all respects as a good Catholic should do; he obtained the Pope's permission to enter as a canon the abbey of St. Maur des Fossés, and resolved as far as possible to remove the personal grounds of complaint of the Sorbonne by printing a revised edition of his work, omitting the passages where the doctors of that venerable body were held up to ridicule, and omitting or modifying other passages which savoured of heresy. As the book had hitherto been published anonymously, it was open to him to say that the previous editions had been unauthorised and garbled.

Accordingly in 1542 an edition was printed at the press of François Juste at Lyons, carefully revised by the author, and with important modifications and omissions. In the fifth chapter of the earlier editions of *Gargantua*, Grandgosier repeats to Gargamelle, as she is beginning her illness, a passage from the sixteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, to which the good queen replies, 'vous dictes bien et j'aime beaucoup mieux ouir tels propos de l'évangile et mieux m'en trouve que de ouir la vie de sainte Marguarite ou quelque autre capharderie.' Such a passage would alone have been ample proof of the heresy of the writer. But not content with heresy, Rabelais scoffed in numerous passages at the Sorbonne and its doctors. In the same chapter he has a passage ending with these words, 'Les Sorbonistes disent que foy est argument des choses de nulle apparence.'

[1] Rabelais, book ii. chap. v.

In the revised edition of 1542 both these passages are omitted, and wherever in the earlier editions the words *Sorbonne* or *Sorbonistes*, or *théologien*, or similar words occurred, they were either wholly omitted, or other expressions with an entirely different and perfectly inoffensive signification substituted. Thus in chapter vii. (vi.) in place of *declaré par Sorbonne scandaleuse* we have simply *declaré scandaleuse*, and in chapter xiii. (xii.) instead of *Sorbonne*, *Guaye Science*. In chapter xvii. (xvi.) in place of *boire theologalement*, he substitutes *boire rustement*. In other places *Sophiste* is substituted for *Sorboniste*, and also for *théologien*, and *docteur sophiste* for *docteur en théologie*, while the still more offensive word *Sorbonagres* has been suppressed altogether.

These sacrifices to prudence (continued in every subsequent edition printed during the life of the author, except the one I am about to refer to, and except a surreptitious edition printed at Valence in 1547) appear to have satisfied the Sorbonne, and probably, together with the influence of Jean du Bellay, preserved the author from persecution, and possibly from the stake. It was then with feelings of excessive but justifiable irritation that immediately afterwards, in the same year (1542), Rabelais found issuing from the press of Dolet, without his sanction or knowledge, an edition purporting to be revised and augmented by the author himself, in which all the obnoxious passages and expressions reappeared. Instead of following the edition which had just been published, Dolet had used for the *Gargantua* the edition of 1537, and for the *Pantagruel* that of 1538, both of which are verbally reproduced without any of the alterations, omissions, or additions which Rabelais had since made. Dolet's edition is well printed in Roman letters, and illustrated with cleverly designed and executed woodcuts. But nothing can justify his statement on the title-page that

his edition was '*revue et de beaucoup augmentée par l'autheur mesme.*' We can readily pardon the indignation of Rabelais at the appearance of this reprint. He was at the moment superintending a further edition through the press, and to it, when printed shortly afterwards, was prefixed the following bitter attack upon Dolet, purporting to be by the printer, but in which we cannot fail to recognise the hand of Rabelais himself:—

'The printer to the reader wishes health.

'In order that you may not take false money for true, dear reader, and the painted form for the simple and natural, and the bastard and adulterine edition of the present work for the legitimate and natural, take notice that a copy of this book while still in the press has from avaricious motives been hastily printed by one who is a plagiarist, and inclined to all evil, and in order to anticipate my labours, and the small profits which I have hoped for; he being influenced not only by avaricious greed, but also and especially, by envious desire for the loss and injury of another. Such a monster as he, is born for the trouble and injury of worthy people. Nevertheless to warn you of the sign and mark which serves to distinguish the false from the good and true, know that the last sheets of this plagiaristic work do not correspond with those of the true original which the author has furnished to me. These latter, though he has taken much pains, he has not been able to obtain for his fraudulent piracy. This plagiarist is not only injurious to me, but also to several others. He is a *Monsieur* (so he boastfully styles himself), but prudent men who know him, know what sort of a character he is.

'His works are nothing but a collection of extracts taken from other men's books, and heaped together in a confused mass, whereas they had been well arranged in the books

whence he has taken them. Thus, the spirit of Villanovanus is indignant at being deprived of the fruit of his labours ; Nizolius is offended at him ; Calepin finds himself robbed ; Robert Estienne recognises the choicest passages of his *Thesaurus* shamefully purloined, and still worse, disguised and appropriated. Those compositions which have brought him honour as a scornful mockery, never proceeded from his mind, yet he dares to enrich and adorn them with brave and magnificent title-pages, so that the portal far surpasses the edifice, ennobled as it is by the Royal privilege ; whilst he abuses both King and people, giving them to understand that the works of good authors such as Marot and Rabelais are in his way. Is it not well known that in certain books on surgery and medicine, as well as on other subjects, he has taken money from printers and booksellers to affix to books printed by them the royal privilege ? Is not this an abuse worthy of punishment ? But what is more, who has ever seen this privilege ? To whom has he ever produced it ? Certainly he has never ventured to show it any one who has asked to see it. A likely thing it is (nay is it even possible ?) that the King should have granted him such a privilege, forbidding any one but himself from either selling or printing the books which he should write. But what is the reason he does this ? The reason is, because men of learning know well that he has no genius, that he cannot put forth anything of his own which would do him honour. Truly a great and noble enterprise, and worthy of one inspired by the spirit of Cicero, to have published in a handsome volume the little book which the regular dealers [disdain to sell and] leave to the pedlars who make their livelihood of such things.[1]

[1] I have been unable to find any trace of such a book as is here referred to. The following is the original sentence, the meaning of which is not very clear, and which I may not have accurately rendered : —'O la grande et haulte entreprinse : et digne de tel homme inspire de

Rubbish by the dozen! Certainly he ought to be well remunerated for it. Such important works well deserve that bishops and prelates should by such a workman be choused of their money. After the mountains have been in labour, a little rat alone has been brought forth. The world cannot help laughing at him, and saying in ridicule, How can such a man, who calls himself so learned and so perfect a Ciceronian, mix himself up with the production of these fooleries in French? Why does he not devote himself to his works of merit without publishing these impertinences? grumbling, joking, protesting (this is his ordinary language), jackanaping, abusing, and using figures of speech which are not Ciceronian, but deserving of being delivered to the mustard dealers to publish them through the city. Such is this *Monsieur*. Adieu, reader; read and judge.'

'This singular epistle,' remarks M. J. C. Brunet, who first called attention to it, 'is completely in the manner of Rabelais, especially towards the end, and if he has not written it entirely, he has probably assisted in its composition. For we cannot suppose the printer would have allowed himself to publish this preface without the permission of the author.'[1]

We must, however, exonerate Dolet from one of the charges made against him in this epistle. He had certainly not abstracted the proof-sheets of the edition then in the

lesperit de Ciceron, avoir redige en beau volume le livret et gaigne pain des petits revandeurs nomme par les Bisouars. Fatras a la douzaine.'

[1] J. C. Brunet, *Recherches sur les éditions originales de Rabelais* (Paris, 1852), p. 89, where the reader will find the epistle given at length. M. Heulhard (*Rabelais: ses voyages en Italie; son exil à Metz*, p. 192), does not see the hand of Rabelais in this preface, which he thinks is written by the printer in imitation of Rabelais' manner. M. Brunet thinks that Dolet had intended to refer to Rabelais in his *Manière de bien traduire* and his *Traité sur les Accents*, in the latter of which he censures those who use a '*fricassée de grec et latin*.' 'J'appelle fricassée une mixtion superflue de ces deux langues: qui se faict par sottelets glorieux: et non par gens resolus, et pleins de bon jugement.'

press in order to print his own. The latter was, as before noted, an exact reprint of the editions of 1537 and 1538, which every one equally with Dolet could procure. The blame which he justly incurred was for printing the book without the author's sanction, for falsely stating on the title that it was revised and augmented by the author himself, and for inserting in it passages which the better judgment of Rabelais had induced him to omit.

It is quite possible that there are excuses to be made for Dolet in this matter. It could hardly be morally (certainly not legally) blameable to print without the author's sanction a work which, published anonymously, had been reprinted by a variety of other printers at their own pleasure, while the words '*revue et de beaucoup augmentée par l'autheur mesme*' are on the title of the edition of 1538 which Dolet copied. It is moreover quite possible that the book did not appear until Dolet was in prison, and that he was not really responsible for the title-page ; and it is probable that, if he was aware of the edition of François Juste, he had not noticed the omissions or alterations which it contained, and which he would most likely have copied had he seen.

The editions of Marot and Rabelais are those which are most sought for of all the productions of Dolet's press. They are all printed with great care, accuracy, and neatness, and those of Marot had, as we have seen, the benefit of the author's supervision. The edition of Rabelais, though surreptitious and not free from errors of the press, yet served as the basis of what was considered for many years the classical edition, that edited by Le Duchat in 1711.

CHAPTER XX

Foreshadowings of the End

Ille potens sui
Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse 'vixi : cras vel atra
Nube polum pater occupato,
Vel sole puro ; non tamen irritum
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.'

Horace.

O calling was more hateful to the friends of bigotry and superstition than that of a printer. The printer was essentially the priest of a new cultus, that of liberty of the soul, a cultus in every aspect inconsistent with, in many diametrically opposed to, the religion then called Catholic and Christian. The reformers, who advocated up to a certain point the emancipation of the soul, and who fortunately, though illogically, succeeded in

establishing in England and Germany a *modus vivendi* between authority and liberty, found, not only in the press, but in the printers, valuable allies. There was scarcely a printer of reputation, either in France or Germany, who was not either openly their adherent, or suspected, and rightly so, of sympathising with their doctrines. But it was not only the great master printers who were on the side of reform ; correctors, readers, compositors, type-founders, and binders, all who were concerned with the press or its productions, felt the influence of the divine art of which they were the ministers, and ranged themselves under the banner of intellectual freedom. Among the martyrs whose deaths are recorded in the *Grand Martyrologe*, printers and booksellers are numerous. Among the five hundred artisans of Lyons who in 1535 marched to the aid of the citizens of Geneva in their contest with the Bishop and the Duke of Savoy, the printers are especially mentioned by the historians of Lyons. And M. Merle d'Aubigné tells us that the trades connected with typography—printers, booksellers, and binders—formed the most numerous contingent in the band of fugitives whom the persecutions which followed the affair of the Placards drove from France in the same year.

To be a printer then, was to be open to the suspicion of heresy or even worse ; and the rumours which, however little they are based on any of his published writings, certainly existed at this time, charging Dolet with irreligion and even with atheism, were not likely to be allayed by the setting up of his press and the opening of his shop. His avowed opinions had undoubtedly rendered him an object of suspicion for several years. His language we may be certain was more violent than his published writings, and though in the latter, as we have seen, there was an ostentatious disavowal of any sympathy with Luther-

anism, and an equally ostentatious declaration of his adhesion to the faith of his ancestors, yet there was not wanting abundant evidence that his sympathies were wholly on the side of intellectual progress and freedom, that all his affection was for the men of that party, and all his hatred was given to their adversaries, who were at the same time his own.

But careless as he was both in speech and action whom he offended, he was as it seems by no means insensible of the prejudice under which he suffered by reason of the rumours of irreligion and atheism, and his earliest works after setting up his press were specially directed to relieving himself from this prejudice. In the *Cato Christianus*, the *Genethliacum*, and the *Avant Naissance* he expresses himself in a manner which we might have thought would have freed him from the charge of irreligion, much more from that of atheism. But these expressions did not satisfy his enemies. Though incompatible with atheism, these books might have emanated from a heretic, and they even subjected their author to charges of heresy. Besides, his epigrams were full of sneers at the monk's cowl, his *Commentaries* bitterly attacked the Sorbonne for its attempted suppression of printing, and in his letters he had referred to the bosom friend and trusted counsellor of the First President of the Parliament of Paris as '*that beast Béda.*' But his enemies judged him by his life and language, not only by his published writings. 'The opinion which all have of your impiety,' says Franciscus Floridus,[1] 'cannot be got rid of by any *Genethliacum.*' His life was not such as a Christian's should be. That he was a good citizen, a good husband, and a good father, were minor matters. He walked about during the celebration of mass. He preferred the sermon to the celebration. It was even whispered that he ate

[1] *Adv. Calumnias S. Doleti.*

flesh in Lent.[1] He was suspected before he set up his press, and the first two books printed by him (or to which his name was appended), the *Cato Christianus* and the *Carmina*, were no sooner issued in 1538, than they were denounced as heretical to the Vicar-General and Official of the Archbishop of Lyons, and their author and printer forthwith cited to appear before that functionary. The charge in reference to the *Cato Christianus* was twofold: first, the author had interpolated as the second commandment a precept beginning 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,' a precept since accepted by the Reformed Churches as the second commandment, but which the Church of Rome has treated as a part of the first; secondly, the paraphrase of the Creed was made to commence *Fidem habeo* instead of *Credo*, and the words *communionem sanctorum* were omitted.[2]

The special charge against the *Carmina* was the use of the word *fatum* in a Pagan and not a Christian sense; and although the word occurs in several parts of the book, the ode which is specially open to the charge is one addressed to Hugues Salel, *De Fato*, and which thus commences :—

> Fati recognosco nimiam efficaciam,
> Et sorte nos certa regi.

But there are not wanting other passages in which the author laid himself open to attack, and which, as well as the use of the word *fatum*, no doubt gave occasion to the censure. The ode *Expetendam esse Mortem*, which had already appeared in the volume containing the orations, thus concludes :—

[1] *Procès*, p. 11.

[2] *Procès*, 9, 10, 13. But the Sorbonne censured many other passages of the *Cato Christianus*. See D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 229.

Ne mortis horre spicula, quæ dabit
Sensu carere vel melioribus
Locis tegi, et statu esse læto,
Elysii est nisi spes inanis.

But a poem in his *Carmina* addressed to Melanchthon (p. 31) certainly laid him still more open to censure :—

Ridere quæ possim, stolidorum et stultorum
Natio mihi multa suppeditat : sed nil prorsus
Magis libet ridere quam nonnullorum
Amentiam, qui, ceu deorum cognati
Jovisque cœli participes, de Diis semper
Sermonem habent : et qua ad polum efferri possis,
Qua deprimaris in nigri tenebras regni
Docent. Ineptum hominum genus, et intolerandum.
Scilicet accubuerunt Jovi, et divum mensis,
Cœlestia ut nobis modo isto dispensent.[1]

Nor would the following epigram (p. 27) be likely to gain for its author the favour of the Vicar-General, even though it might not involve him in a theological censure :—

Incurvicervicum cucullatorum habet
Grex id subinde in ore, se esse mortuum
Mundo : tamen edit eximie pecus, bibit
Non pessime, stertit sepultum crapula,
Operam Veneri dat, et voluptatum assecla
Est omnium. Idne est, mortuum esse mundo ? Aliter
Interpretare. Mortui sunt hercule
Mundo cucullati, quod iners terræ sunt onus,
Ad rem utiles nullam, nisi ad scelus et vitium.

[1] The race of fools and dolts supplies me with abundant matter for laughter, but there is absolutely nothing I more enjoy laughing at than the insanity of those who, as though they were the kindred of the gods and sharers with them of Jove's heaven, are always discoursing concerning the gods, and teach you how you may be able to arrive at heaven, or how you may be sunk down into the darkness of the black realm. Foolish and intolerable race of men ! No doubt they have sat down at the tables of Jove and the gods, in order that they may in such wise dispense to us the celestial decrees.

Dolet was ordered to withdraw these books from sale, and was required to enter into a written undertaking not to again offer them or reprint them, unless he should obtain official permission to do so. It is probable that he had printed them—as he afterwards did several others—without first submitting them either to the Provost of Paris or the Seneschal of Lyons, as it appears from his process he was expressly required to do by the Royal privilege given to him at Moulins.[1]

The three years which followed the setting up of his press (1539, 1540, 1541) were probably the happiest, and certainly the most prosperous, of Dolet's life. A wife and son whom he tenderly loved, a circle of literary friends which included nearly all the men of letters at Lyons as well as many in distant parts of France, constant and profitable literary work, a high reputation as a scholar, and success in his business as a printer and bookseller, were the characteristics of these years. Of his private life indeed we get but few glimpses. Immersed in his literary work and his business, scorning delights and living laborious days, he found little leisure for those elaborate letters which, though chiefly filled with phrases and compliments, still afford us for the early part of his life so many interesting details. Yet he is occasionally referred to in the correspondence of Jean de Boyssone, and one letter exists written by the latter to Dolet during this period. Jean de Boyssone took his seat on the judicial bench of Chambéry in 1539, and Dolet was of much assistance to his friend in receiving from Toulouse and forwarding to Savoy the books as well as other property of the newly-appointed magistrate. On the first of May 1539 (or 1540), Boyssone wrote to Dolet to acknowledge the

[1] *Procès*, p. 11. But in the *Extraict du Privileige*, as printed by Dolet at the commencement of several of his books, nothing of this kind appears.

receipt of his books, and at the same time sent his friend a packet of letters which he requested him to forward to Toulouse, 'either by Jean *Madamaxum* (sic), or by some other muleteer who may be starting for Toulouse, a class of persons of whom you have no scarcity at Lyons, whereas we, who are enclosed on every side by lofty mountains, seldom have any communication with Gaul. Wherefore you would act most kindly to me if you occasionally took thought to write to me something of what is going on with you at Lyons.'[1] At the end of 1540 Boyssone made a journey to Paris, and on his return we catch a glimpse of Dolet, in a letter to Guillaume Bigot, dated Chambéry, December 1, 1540. Boyssone writes, 'At Lyons Dolet supped with me. We devoted much of our conversation to you and your pursuits, and at last we both came to this conclusion, to exhort and persuade you to carry on and complete your medical studies.'[2] But, although this is the last direct evidence of intercourse between the two men, yet that their friendship continued up to the time of Dolet's arrest in 1542 is proved by another letter of Boyssone to Bigot, dated the 30th of June in that year, which thus concludes: 'I much admire your verses, and will take care that an opportunity of reading them is afforded to Dolet.'[3] With this letter the name of Dolet vanishes from the correspondence of Boyssone. His arrest took place shortly afterwards, and the rest of his life, with the exception of a very few months, was spent in prison.

We should certainly have expected some reference to and some expression of sympathy for his subsequent misfortunes and his tragical end in the letters of Boyssone to their common friends, but no such reference is to be found. Whether, as M. Guibal suggests,[4] he had forsaken his friend

[1] MS. Corr. fol. lii. [2] Id. fol. lxv. [3] Id. fol. lxxii.
[4] *Rev. de Toulouse*, 1864, p. 102.

in his misfortunes from one of those *lâchetés* which are disguised under the name of *convenances*, and which are the special peril of those who hold high official positions, or whether in revising the correspondence for the press, all reference to Dolet's trial, sentence, and death, and all expressions of sympathy for him, were omitted, as fraught with danger to the writer, we have no means of judging.

The after-life of Jean de Boyssone demands a few sentences. At first he found the change from Toulouse to Chambéry a most agreeable one. He enjoyed his judicial duties, he enjoyed the society of his fellow-councillors of Savoy, several of them, including his friend Maurice Scève, men of culture and intelligence, and he was on the best possible terms with the President, Pellisson. A Ciceronian by faith if not by his Latin style, Boyssone dedicated the villa which he inhabited, just out of Chambéry, to the memory of his master, and in a Savoyard Tusculum he devoted his leisure to study, and correspondence with his literary friends. Ten years passed away, he had become the most important member of the Council of Savoy after the President, and his services in administering the newly-annexed province had been great. But he began to be weary of his charge. The fall of the Chancellor Poyet deprived him of his protector and patron ; several of his earlier and favourite colleagues had either died or left Savoy, and he was anxious to return to France, when a heavy blow fell upon him, directed partly by the personal enmity of a subordinate, partly by the cupidity of a great personage. Neither his services nor his integrity were able to protect him from the personal enmity of Taboët the *procureur du roi*, supported by the cupidity of the Duke of Guise. Taboët had been severely reprimanded by the President in the name of the Council ; Pellisson and Boyssone were both men of great wealth ; the Duke of Guise, large as were his possessions,

was in need of money, and desirous of obtaining from the King grants of the confiscated property of wealthy criminals.

A charge of corruption was brought by Taboët against Pellisson, Boyssone, and several other councillors. The charge was referred to the Parliament of Dijon, the capital of the province of which Guise was the governor, and it was heard before a creature of Guise, the Second President Baillet (who had purchased his office for a large sum of money), and certain councillors submissive instruments of the Second President's will. The result could not be doubtful. On the 8th of August 1551, the accused were found guilty; Jean de Boyssone was deprived of his office, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to be detained in prison until it was paid. But public opinion was in his favour. The Chancellor Bertrandi was not satisfied with the sentence of the Parliament of Dijon, and the University of Grenoble was eager to offer the chair of Law to the disgraced councillor. He and the President were permitted to appeal to the Parliament of Paris, and after a long and wearisome process occasioning violent disputes as to the respective jurisdictions of the two Parliaments, and as to the right of that of Paris to revise the sentence of a supreme Court which Dijon claimed to be, a special commission appointed by the King, consisting of an equal number of councillors of Paris and Dijon, in 1556 finally reversed the sentence of the Parliament of Dijon, restored Pellisson and Boyssone to their rank, condemned Taboët in costs, and ordered him, with bare head and feet, and a cord round his neck, to be led through the streets of Chambéry.[1]

From this moment Jean de Boyssone disappears from history. His correspondence and his poems bring us up to this date, but his biographer has not been able to discover

[1] Guibal, *Rev. de Toulouse*, Août, 1864; De Thou, i. pp. 882 et seq.; MS. *Epist.* Boyss. *passim*.

any trace of him after his rehabilitation, and we may therefore presume that he did not long survive it.

In the meantime Dolet was preparing for a considerable extension of his business as a printer. Where he set up his press when he first began to print we do not know; some of his earlier books are described on the title as printed *Au logis de Monsieur Dolet*, words which seem to have given rise to no little ridicule. But early in 1542 he removed to the house in the Rue Mercière, where he lived until his final imprisonment. Several of the books printed in that year have at the end, *A Lyon ches Estienne Dolet, pour lors demeurant en Rue Mercière à l'enseigne de la dolouere d'or.*

The Rue Mercière was the Paternoster Row of Lyons, one of the most important streets of the city, full of printers and booksellers' shops. As the griffin was placed over the shop of Gryphius, and the entwined snakes surrounding a book over that of Jean de Tournes, so over the shop of Dolet in the Rue Mercière was placed as a sign a golden axe, or *dolouere*, similar no doubt to that which appears on the title-pages of his books.[1]

During the five years that the press of Dolet existed, upwards of eighty volumes issued from it upon every variety of subject, theology, history, French and Latin poetry, grammar, criticism, Latin classics and translations, medicine, besides several Greek books. Of these about a fourth were the composition of the printer, and to at least another fourth he performed the function of editor as well as printer, and added a preface, dedication, or ode. The greater part of these (upwards of sixty) appeared before Dolet's arrest at

[1] M. Boulmier would seem not to have noticed that Dolet's shop and house were in the Rue Mercière, and possibly not knowing Lyons he has misunderstood a passage in the *Second Enfer*, and has erroneously stated that Dolet's house was one of the lofty buildings on the quay overlooking the Saône.

the end of July or the beginning of August 1542. In the Appendix to this book I have given a list of these volumes, and of the authorities for the existence of those (about a fifth) of which I have not been able to discover a copy.

For the three years which followed the publication of the *Cato Christianus*, Dolet showed, for him, an unusual degree of caution. His quarrels with the master printers indeed continued, but in the publications which issued from his press, whether his own compositions or those of others, there was little that could justly give offence to the authorities. The only original work of Dolet, besides those which have already been noticed, was his *Observations on the Andria and Eunuchus of Terence*, a book which met with a sufficient success to induce him to give an edition of the text of the whole of Terence revised by himself, and to reprint the *Observations* in 1543. They were afterwards thought worthy of insertion in several editions of Terence printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In addition to those previously mentioned a treatise in folio by his friend Claude Cottereau on military law, a Latin poem entitled *Pandora*, by Jean Olivier, Bishop of Angers, nephew of the Chancellor, a volume of *Orations and Epigrams* and a translation of the Antigone of Sophocles by Gentian Hervet, were the more important original works which Dolet printed during the years 1539-40-41 ; and these were enriched, the two first mentioned by a preface, and the latter by an ode of his own composition. Besides these, editions of the *New Testament* (in Latin), Suetonius, the *Elegantiæ* of Laurentius Valla, a volume consisting of an explanation of the Lord's Prayer and a few other tracts, and translations into French by Jean Canappe and Pierre Tolet of several medical treatises of Galen, and Paulus Ægineta, are the only books which have been hitherto noticed by bibliographers or biographers as issuing from his

press during the years 1539-40-41. I am able to add eleven others; reprints of the *De duplici copia verborum* of Erasmus, the *De corrupti emendatione Sermonis* of Cordier, the *Tabulæ Poeticæ* of Murmellius, the *Institutiones* and the *Meditationes Græcæ* of Clenard, an *Alphabeticum Latinum*, and editions of the text of Virgil, of the *Epistolæ Familiares*, the *De Officiis* and other minor philosophical treatises, and the *Rhetorica* of Cicero, and the *Disticha Catonis* with the Scholia of Erasmus.

During these three years Dolet suffered no serious molestation; once indeed, if not oftener, he was summoned before the official of the Archbishop in reference to the *Cato Christianus* and the *Epigrams*, the sale of which it would seem had not been discontinued, but it is not very clear what was the result.

But the peaceful literary life, which he had led for some years, was now drawing to a conclusion. Prosperous and to all appearance happy as the last few years had been, they had witnessed, as we have seen, the death of some, the alienation of others of his friends, to whom in the misfortunes which were impending he might have looked for sympathy, if not for more substantial aid. The good bishops of Rieux and Limoges were dead, nor while losing old friends does Dolet appear to have acquired any new ones possessed of much influence. Most of the master printers of Lyons still continued to be his bitter enemies, whether owing as he alleged to their jealousy of him on account of the privilege which the King had conferred on him and on account of the success with which he, an interloper, had carried on his business, or whether owing to the part he had taken and was continuing to take in the disputes between the masters and the workmen. In the meantime the hatred of the bigoted and superstitious had gone on increasing. His friends were most of them suspected of heresy, and some of them more than suspected.

He had printed the poems of Marot and the *Gargantua* of Rabelais, and in his own *Epigrams* had ridiculed the monks as bitterly as either of those writers.

But still more serious crimes were shortly to be laid to his charge. In 1542, the cautious line of conduct which he had followed for the three preceding years was altogether abandoned, and he rushed with open eyes into the lion's mouth. His removal to the Rue Mercière was followed by a great extension of his business as a printer and bookseller. In the first half of 1542 no less than thirty books issued from his press. To about half of them no exception could be taken. The *Epîtres Familiaires* and the editions of Marot and Rabelais I have already noticed ; the treatise of Revergata *De Comparanda Eloquentia*, an edition with a French translation by his friend Guillaume Durand of Sulpicius Verulanus *De Moribus in Mensa Servandis*, *La parfaicte Amye* of Heroët, *L'Amie de Court* of La Borderie, and Allégré's translation, *Du Mespris de la Court*, from the Spanish of Guevara, several medical treatises of Canappe, Tolet, and Pierre Vernei, a funeral oration of Claude Baduel, and a manifesto of Francis I. against Charles V., were books which could involve the printer in no risk ; but the other works which Dolet printed in this half year, some of them wholly or partially his own composition, could not fail to give offence to the rulers of the Church, and to afford to his enemies the handle for attack for which they had long been watching. The New Testament in French, the Epistles and Gospels for the fifty-two Sundays, with the commentary of Lefèvre d'Estaples, the translation of the Psalms and Canticles into French, possibly made by Dolet himself, the Exhortation to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the *Brief discours de la republique Francoyse desirant la lecture des livres de la Saincte Escripture luy estre loysible en sa langue vulgaire*, and a summary of the Old and New Testaments, were books

which could not emanate from a pure and orthodox Christian, and, as their very titles show, were most dangerous to the faithful, and were all filled, as the sentence on their printer and editor declared, with 'damnable and pernicious heresies.' Besides these, Dolet printed translations of two religious treatises by the hated Erasmus, *Le Chevalier Chrestien*, made by Louis Berquin, who was himself burned for heresy, and *Le Vray moyen de bien et catholiquement se confesser*, possibly made by Dolet himself, both full of heresies; while *La Fontaine de Vye* and the *Livre de la Compaignie des Penitens* were not less open to censure.

With an extraordinary want of prudence on the part of Dolet, all these books issued from his press in the first half of 1542.[1] But he had also procured from Geneva, and had probably sold or offered for sale, copies of the French *Bible* of Olivet, Calvin's *Christian Institutes*, the *Commonplaces* of Melanchthon, and the *Unio Dissidentium*[2] of Herman Bodé. The measure of his iniquities was filled up. His prosecution on the capital charge of heresy was decided on. His accusers were, as he tells us in his Epistle to the King prefixed to his translation of the *Tusculans*, his enemies the master printers of Lyons; and to make his conviction and destruction more sure, the aid of the most terrible tribunal which the world has seen was invoked, and the Court which assembled for his trial was presided over by the Inquisitor-General.

[1] The authorities for attributing these to Dolet are stated in the Appendix. Of several of these books no existing copy is known.

[2] For an account of this very rare book and its editions, see Clément, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, vol. iv. pp. 413-419.

CHAPTER XXI

Nostre Maistre Doribus

Humana ante oculos fœde cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans.
Lucretius.

ISTORIANS have generally ignored the existence of the Inquisition in France, except for a few years after its foundation. That it ever subsequently existed there is a fact unknown to many well-informed writers on the legal and ecclesiastical history of that country; whilst some, and these careful and in many matters trustworthy writers, have actually denied its existence. Richard Simon, one of the ablest and most learned among French ecclesiastical authors,[1] says that the title of Inquisitor-General of the Faith was a mere title

[1] *Lettres Choisies* (edit. of Amsterdam, i. p. 243).

assumed by the theologian whom the King or the Parliament entrusted with the examination of books relating to religious matters. But, as I have already had occasion to notice, the Inquisition did in fact exist in France for centuries, and though in its early days it was shorn of those great powers which had been entrusted to it by the piety of Alfonso of Poictiers, St. Louis, Philip the Bold, and Philip the Fair, it continued to be a living force in the south of France until the middle of the seventeenth century.

But neither its friends nor its enemies have given to us either sufficiently ample or sufficiently accurate details of its history, its authority, or its procedure. The writers on the Parliaments, the criminal law, and the administration of the north of France are perhaps right in entirely ignoring its existence, for though we find many cases in which the Inquisitor-General sat as judge on the trial of heretics beyond the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Toulouse, he seems to have acted on such occasions only as the assessor of the Bishop or of his Vicar-General, and not as exercising any inherent authority.[1] We can readily understand that to lawyers the subject would be distasteful, and we can no less readily understand and excuse the silence of ecclesiastics, who must feel humiliated at the thought that the eldest daughter of the Church has shown so little appreciation of the benefits of the Holy Office, that she only recognised its existence in Languedoc, and even there, where it undoubtedly did exist for more than three centuries, placed such restrictions on its power, that its beneficial influence was hardly able to make itself felt. For we are not to suppose that the faithful adherents of the Church of Rome find anything to censure in the Inquisition of Spain or Italy, unless it may be its too great mildness. 'The Inquisition,' says M. Charles Barthélemy, 'has made

[1] Carcassonne was the only place besides Toulouse where the Inquisition held regular and formal courts.

the glory of the country in which it had its birth, it has assured the liberty of a great people : it has protected genius. It has softened and moderated the severity of other courts of justice.'[1]

Yet from the historians of Toulouse and the archives of the City and of the Parliament we can gather some few details which let us see the importance of the Holy Office and of the Inquisitor-General in Languedoc. The latter was appointed at one time by the Provincial, at another by the General of the Dominicans, at another by the Pope himself. During part of the sixteenth century the brethren of the Order of St. Dominic seem to have exercised the right of election, which afterwards was acquired by the Congregation of the Holy Office. Yet it was always necessary that the appointment

[1] *Mensonges et erreurs historiques*, Paris, Blériot, 1863. This is a favourite text-book in clerical schools and seminaries in France. Those who desire to have precise and accurate details of the mildness and moderation of the Holy Office should refer—not to protestant or infidel writers, whose prejudices or feelings lead them into exaggeration, and who sometimes relate sensational stories on insufficient grounds—but to authorised and official writings. The official code of the Inquisition (*Sacro Arsenale ovvere Prattica del officio della S. Inquisitione Amplicata*), of which five editions appeared, the latest that I know in 1730, describes at length and in detail the several kinds and refinements of torture which are to be made use of. It is for the soul's health of the victim not only that his feet should be burned, but that they should first be well steeped in lard. They would thus burn better, and the burning would be more painful. Umbertus Locatus, Inquisitor at Pavia and Piacenza, a Commissary-General of the Roman Inquisition and confessor to Pius V., in his *Praxes judiciaria inquisitorum cum quibusdam Sancti Officii Decretis* (Venice, 1583), also specifies the different kinds of torture to be used in different cases. We know the torture occasioned by tickling the feet. But this is much refined upon ; salt is to be first well rubbed in, and then the feet are to be *licked by a goat*. In no other way can so exquisite a torment be produced. In reading these official and authoritative writings we wonder what were the severities of the other courts, which, according to M. Barthélemy, were softened and moderated by a court of which these were some of the ordinary practices.

should be confirmed by the King, and registered by the Parliament. Even at Toulouse the Parliament was careful to keep the power of the Inquisitor within specified and narrow limits. It appointed ten assessors or adjoints to sit with him and advise him on matters of law, and it was careful to allow upon certain questions an appeal from the Inquisitor's sentence to itself. It seems doubtful whether the Holy Office of its own mere motion could try an accused person. In all cases of heresy, however, brought before the Parliament, the accused was at once remitted to the Inquisition, whilst by sitting as the Assessor of the Vicar-General of the Archbishop, the Inquisitor-General was able to exercise an original and independent jurisdiction. Yet however strictly defined was his judicial power, the rank and importance of the 'Inquisitor-General of the whole kingdom of France' was very great. Neither the Governor of Languedoc nor the King himself could enter the walls of Toulouse without first taking an oath before him to preserve the faith and the Holy Inquisition. Another privilege which was greatly prized by the Holy Office was that each year, on the election of the four capitouls, the Inquisitor-General inquired into their opinions, and if he found any among them who had the least taint or suspicion of heresy, the election of the suspected person was annulled. In 1540, the power and authority of the Holy Office in Languedoc was expressly confirmed by an edict of Francis I., and in 1557 his weak and contemptible successor Henry II. actually requested and obtained from Paul IV. a bull establishing for the whole of France the Inquisition exactly as it existed in Spain and at Rome.

A royal edict ordered the registration of the bull as the sole means of arresting the progress of heresy. It authorised the Inquisitor-General to select bishops and priests as judges in all matters of faith and heresy; it gave absolute powers of life and death to the Inquisitors and their deputies, and

deprived the accused of their right of appeal to the Parliament. All that was left to the secular arm was to carry out the sentence of the Inquisition. Notwithstanding the approval which the edict received from the First President of the Parliament of Paris, Le Maistre, supported by the Presidents who sat with him in the Grand Chamber, Minard and St. André, the majority of the members, led by Seguier and Harlai, the Presidents of La Tournelle, and Arnoul du Ferrier, the President of the Court of Enquêtes, refused to register the edict. The King had recourse to a bed of justice, and the edict was duly registered in his presence in January 1558. But though the Grand Chamber thereupon either refused to allow appeals from heretics convicted by the ecclesiastical tribunals, or when it permitted the appeals, confirmed and in some instances increased the severity of the sentence, the Chamber of La Tournelle continued as before to receive all appeals that came to it, and when it did not reverse the judgment of the Inquisition, it mitigated the sentences, changing them in some instances from death to banishment. The King and the Cardinals (of Lorraine and Bourbon) were indignant. The Presidents and Councillors were summoned to the royal presence, and charged to see that the practice of the different Chambers was made uniform, and that strict obedience was paid to the edict establishing the Inquisition. The King's orders were read by the Procureur-General. Never before had a matter of such deep importance been laid before the Councillors of the Parliament, and never had there been so serious and weighty a deliberation. Each member was called on for his opinion. The members of the Civil Courts, of the Enquêtes and Requêtes, supported the Presidents of La Tournelle. In vain Le Maistre, St. André, and Minard urged the commands of the King and the sin of tolerating heretics. The party of toleration had a complete victory. A large majority pronounced in favour of the

practice of La Tournelle and of the President Seguier. Banishment was deemed to be a sufficient punishment for heresy, and a decree to this effect was ordered to be prepared.

The deliberations of the Parliament were in secret. Le Maistre betrayed them to the King, and the *séance* was ordered to be resumed in public in his Majesty's presence. The members boldly expressed their opinions. Again the Presidents Le Maistre, Minard, and St. André inveighed against toleration, and recommended the extermination of the Albigeois and the Vaudois as examples to be followed. Four Presidents, Seguier, Harlai, du Ferrier, and de Thou, and a great majority of Councillors, supported the cause of toleration, some of them with tact and prudence, others with more boldness than discretion. The King could hardly restrain his indignation. He refused to allow the votes to be collected. He ordered Arnoul du Ferrier—the most eminent jurist, except his greater pupil Cujas, whom France then possessed—and seven Councillors to be arrested. The Councillors du Faure and Dubourg were seized on the judicial bench. Du Ferrier and two others only saved themselves by flight. Five members of the Parliament were lodged in the Bastille. It seemed as though nothing could hinder the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in France, when the fortunate death of Henry II. and the minority of his successor enabled the Parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of the Guises, to remain masters of the field, and the all-important right of appeal in matters of heresy to a lay tribunal was retained by France,[1] though this right was much curtailed ten years later by the edict of Romorantin.

But the Inquisition continued to exist in Languedoc for nearly a century longer, and played no unimportant part during the religious wars. Yet its decline had really commenced before the attempt of Henry II. to increase its

[1] Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, book 50.

powers and extend its jurisdiction. A century later it was to fall, not before the attacks of heretics or of scoffers, but of an orthodox Archbishop of Toulouse, Charles de Montchal. Jealous of an independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he obtained from Anne of Austria in 1645 a decree for its suppression as a royal court of criminal jurisdiction. The Dominicans represented him as a wolf in sheep's clothing, the Pope again appointed an Inquisitor, but the Parliament of Toulouse deprived him of nearly all power and jurisdiction. Yet the title of Inquisitor-General of the Faith continued for upwards of a century longer, and conferred much rank and prestige, a large income, and some shadowy if not real power upon its possessor. At its abolition, the single privilege which remained to the Inquisitor seems to have been that of giving certificates of orthodoxy to advocates, as well as to others who required them. In 1772, the Marquis d'Aignan d'Orbesson, not being able to bear the idea that in the country which claimed to be the leader of civilisation there still existed, in an epoch of toleration and enlightenment, a degrading relic of barbarism and bigotry, obtained from the King a decree suppressing the salary paid to the Inquisitor, depriving Frère Jean Daydé, who then held the office, of the title of Inquisitor, and forbidding the Dominicans from naming a successor to him.[1]

[1] *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France depuis son établissement au XIII^e^ siècle à la suite de la croisade contre les Albigeois, jusqu'en 1772 époque définitive de sa suppression*, par E. L. B. de Lamothe-Langon, Paris, 1829, 3 vols. 8vo. (A useful summary of facts relating to the Inquisition in France, but superficial and unsystematic. No information is given as to the procedure of the tribunal, and the writer displays complete ignorance of many of the commonest books, such as the *Grand Martyrologe* and the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* attributed to Theodore de Bèze, which contain important details on the subject. The greatest value of the book is that the writer cites the archives of the Inquisition and the registers of the Parliament of Toulouse.) *La jurisprudence du grand Conseil examinée dans les maximes du Royaume. Ouvrage précieux contenant l'histoire de l'Inquisition en France*,

As the notices of the Inquisition in France are so scanty, the reader will not be surprised if we have a difficulty in tracing the succession of the Inquisitors. Raymond de Gossin held the office in 1532, and would no doubt preside at the trials of Jean de Caturce and Jean de Boyssone. It was he who had denounced to the Parliament early in 1532 the presence of heresy at Toulouse, and had obtained authority for the arrest of the large number of persons of all classes who, as we have seen,[1] were arrested in that year. He was succeeded by Louis Rochette, who shortly after his appointment was deprived of his office, tried, and burnt for heresy, in the place where there is every probability he had witnessed the martyrdom of Caturce and the recantation of Boyssone. He was succeeded by Vidal de Becanis.

In 1534 we find one *Jehan Gauteret*, described as '*juge et inquisiteur de l'heretique pravité es cité et diocese de Lyon*,' assisting in the trial of Baudichon de la Maison Neuve.[2] But he does not seem to have been Inquisitor-General.

In 1536, the person referred to by Rabelais[3] as *Nostre maistre Doribus* was appointed by the Provincial of the Dominicans Grand Inquisitor in succession to Valentin Lyèvin deceased, and was duly confirmed in that office by the King, and subsequently by the Pope.[4] Brother Matthieu Ory, or Orry, a Breton by birth and a Dominican by

Avignon, 1775 [by E. L. V. de Goezmann]. M. de Goezmann says that the Inquisition continued as a real power in Roussillon until 1762. (Roussillon was only acquired by France in 1659, and retained the Inquisition with other Spanish institutions.)

[1] *Ante*, p. 80.

[2] *Procès de Baudichon*, Geneva, Fick, 1873. He is sometimes styled '*Official des excès*' and '*Inquisiteur de la foy*.'

[3] Book ii. c. 22.

[4] Weiss, *La Chambre Ardente*, xvii. In the *Procès d'Estienne Dolet* his name is printed *Oroy*, but in the original MS. it is *Orry*. Merle d'Aubigné calls him *Oritz*, and he is elsewhere also referred to as *Oriz*. I follow however the orthography of his own works and of the *Grand Martyrologe*.

profession, was then forty years of age. He had already attained some distinction as a preacher, and in selecting him, the rulers of the Church showed that wise appreciation and judgment which has ever been a marked characteristic of the Church of Rome, and in which her heretical rivals have so constantly shown themselves deficient.

Matthieu Orry possessed all the qualifications needed for the high office of Inquisitor-General, sufficient theological learning, a fair knowledge of the Canon Law, and a keen scent for heresy, whilst his persuasive manner and his Socratic method, easily drew suspected heretics into confessions, admissions, and contradictions, which rendered extraneous evidence of less moment, and enabled judges to pronounce sentence without violating the requirements of the Canon Law. *Blasphemavit: quid adhuc egemus testibus?* Instant in season and out of season, ready to spend and be spent in the service of the Church, he found no occupation so congenial to his mind as that of hunting, trying, and burning heretics.[1] He was incessantly travelling through France. Wherever a trial for heresy was imminent, even beyond the limits of his own jurisdiction, that is to say, that of the Parliament of Toulouse, he was always ready to act as assessor to the Bishop or his Vicar-General, and to assist in obtaining, what it was the greatest triumph and satisfaction to obtain,

[1] 'Je n'en cogneus jamais ung plus ignorant, ung plus maling, et plus appetant la mort et destruction d'ung Chrestien.' Dolet, Epist. to the King prefixed to his translation of the *Tusculan Disputations*. But on some occasions he was open to bribes. Lamothe-Langon (vol. iii. liv. 16) says, 'Orri n'était méchant que pour ceux qui ne financaient pas en sa bourse. Il devenait doux et facile à l'égard de ceux qui le payaient ; dans la ville de Sancerre par exemple il traita avec modération les protestants qui lui donnèrent de bon vin ; et pour une somme ronde on obtint de lui d'excellents certificats de catholicité.' (This is on the authority of Goezmann, *La Jurisprudence du Grand Conseil examinée*, vol. i. p. 22. See also De Bèze, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 13.)

a confession, before the victim was delivered over to the secular arm. We find him sitting at Paris, Lyons, Bourges, Orléans, Poictiers, and Vienne. It was one of his earliest duties as Inquisitor-General to examine the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, and to his report, equally laudatory of the book and its author, the Order of Jesus owes the favourable reception which it met with in France. As the trusted counsellor of Cardinal de Tournon he acquired the favour of the King, and it was to his influence and to his suggestions that the most stringent measures of Francis I. against heretics and blasphemers are due. When he followed the counsels of Matthieu Orry, the King felt that he was indeed working out his salvation. The same confidence which Francis I. placed in the Inquisitor was shown by his successor, and when tidings reached the Court that Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara, had fallen under the influence of 'cursed and reprobate errors,' it was Matthieu Orry that was sent by Henry II. to effect his aunt's conversion, by persuasion if possible, but if not, and if the Duke her husband would allow it, by shutting her up in seclusion, and separating her children from her. The Duke was entreated to allow Orry, who had much experience in such matters, to try, and bring to severe punishment all those of the Duchess's attendants who were tainted with heretical opinions.[1] That the Inquisitor's persuasions were unsuccessful, and that the Duchess had to be imprisoned and her children taken away from her before she would confess and receive the communion from a priest, showed only the depravity of the heretic, and not any want of ability or zeal in the Inquisitor; for on proceeding to Rome he was received with high favour by the Pope, who confirmed him in his office of Inquisitor-General of France, and appointed him Apostolical Penitentiary. In

[1] Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, i. p. 718. See also Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, iv. p. 328.

the *Grand Martyrologe* his name frequently occurs as presiding at the trial of heretics, examining them, passing sentence, and presiding at the executions. 'Misérable Orry!' the martyrologist on one occasion thus apostrophises him, 'qui as toujours aguisé à cruauté ceux qui brûlent de rage.'[1] But of all the trials for heresy at which he took the chief part there are two which specially interest us. It had been the letters of Calvin, letters full of noble and Christian exhortations and sentiments, that had enabled Renée of France to resist the persuasions of Matthieu Orry. In these letters, as in many others of a similar character, we see the Reformer at his best, such as we would fain hope and believe he really was. In the letters, certainly inspired, and probably dictated by him, in which he denounced to the authorities of Vienne the blasphemies, and betrayed the person, of Michael de Villeneuve, *alias* Revès, *alias* Servetus, we see the lowest depths of degradation and infamy to which religious bigotry (perhaps combined with personal dislike) can bring down a naturally great and noble nature. It was to Matthieu Orry that the letters written in the name of Guillaume Trie to his cousin Antoine Arneys were carried. It was Matthieu Orry who caused the replies of Arneys to be prepared, and who, when all the necessary information had been received from Calvin, took the leading part, though he did not actually preside, at the trial of Servetus at Vienne.

Of no part of his life have we so many details, and nowhere do we get so true a picture of the man, as in reference to the trial of Servetus. We see him acting, now as a detective, now as the prosecuting attorney, now as counsel, now as judge; now chuckling over the letters of Guillaume Trie, and then dictating the answers to them, asking for information and documentary evidence from Calvin; almost daily spurring his mule between Lyons and Vienne; closeted

[1] Edit. of 1597, p. 180.

with Cardinal de Tournon at Lyons one day, and dining with Archbishop Paumier at Vienne the next, leaving no stone unturned to procure evidence of heresy against the accused, and to obtain his conviction and sentence. It was through no fault of his that Servetus was not burned at Vienne. The Archbishop, the Vicar-General, and the Vibailly of Vienne, lukewarm as they were in the good work, yet when reproached by Calvin for allowing a heretic who ought to be burned alive to live unnoticed among them, could do no other than bring him to trial and sentence him to death. But it was to Cardinal de Tournon that Orry first communicated the matter, it was after conference with him and acting under his directions that all the preliminaries were prepared. It was not until the correspondence with Calvin was complete, and the inculpatory documents procured from Geneva, that the matter was first mentioned to Pierre Paumier, Archbishop of Vienne, who thereupon, acting under the directions of the Cardinal and the advice of Orry, ordered the arrest and trial of the accused.

Servetus was permitted to escape from prison. The Vibailly was commonly reported to have been the active party in the matter, and as nobody was punished or blamed we may believe with tolerable certainty that the 'primate of primates,' Archbishop Paumier, was not excessively grieved at the escape, and that the Vibailly proceeded with the trial, and pronounced sentence of death on his friend and physician with much greater satisfaction than he would have done had Servetus been safe in the prison of Vienne.

It was ten years before these events that Orry presided at a trial that is of more immediate interest to us—that of *Étienne Dolet*.[1]

[1] The only notices of the life of Orry which I know are those in Moréri, *Grand Dict. Hist.*, and Echard, *Scriptores ordinum prædicatorum*,

The records of the trial of Étienne Dolet (technically called the *procès*), as well as those of every person who was burned for heresy in France, have perished. They were in general burned with the condemned,[1] in order that the members of the Reformed Church might be unable to collect the acts of their martyrs. Not a single official record of a trial for heresy exists in France. Such, if any, as were not so burned probably perished with so many other records at the time of the great Revolution. Nor, except in the few cases where the accused had (unsuccessfully of course) appealed to the Parliament, is there even any existing record of the conviction or sentence. All that we know of the trials for heresy are the brief notices of them, with hardly any details, contained in the *Grand Martyrologe* of Crespin, in the correspondence of the Reformers, and in the contemporary journal of a *Bourgeois de Paris*, who made a point of attending and recording every execution for heresy that took place in the capital.

A single official record of a trial for heresy in France was however discovered a few years since, not indeed in France, but in the library of Berne;[2] it is that of the eminent citizen of Geneva, Baudichon de la Maison Neuve, one of the very few who, after being convicted and handed over to the secular arm, escaped punishment. Tried and convicted at Lyons in 1535, by a flagrant violation of international law, for offences—if they were offences—committed out of France, he was saved from the stake, as we have before seen, by the intervention of the Lords of Berne, an

vol. ii. p. 162, where a list of his works will be found. See, however, for the details in the text, D'Artigny, *Mémoires d'histoire, de critique et de littérature*, ii. p. 68 *et seq.*; Willis, *Servetus and Calvin*, pp. 239-277; *Grand Martyrologe*, passim.

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Ier* (Paris, 1854), pp. 441-451.

[2] See *ante*, p. 408.

intervention, however, which would have been useless had not Jean de Peyrat, the Lieutenant-Governor of Lyons, by delaying the execution (though much urged by the priestly party to sanction it), given time for the Bernese messengers to reach the court of the King of France.

All that we know of the trial of Dolet is from the epistle to the King, prefixed by way of dedication to his translation of the *Tusculans*, and from the letters of remission and pardon subsequently granted to him, and discovered in the Criminal Archives of the Parliament of Paris by M. A. Taillandier, and printed by him in 1836.[1] Fortunately for us these letters of remission are prefaced by recitals of the trial, conviction, and sentence of an unusually detailed character, and which have thrown a flood of light upon one of the most interesting and important events of Dolet's life.

It was at the end of July, or the beginning of August, 1542, that, by the order of the Inquisitor-General, but at the instigation of the master printers and booksellers of Lyons, Dolet was arrested and thrown into the archiepiscopal prison.[2] His arrest was, it seems, merely on suspicion of heresy, and without any formal charge made or information

[1] *Procès d'Estienne Dolet, imprimeur et libraire à Lyon, 1543-1546.* Paris, Techener, 1836.

[2] Although there is no distinct authority for the date of Dolet's arrest, yet from all the facts of the case and especially from the dates of the books and their prefaces which issued from his press in 1542 (see *ante*, pp. 399, 400) it seems clear that the arrest must have taken place at the end of July or the beginning of August. I do not forget that Dolet's press continued at work during his imprisonment, and that several books are expressly stated to be issued while Dolet was in the prison of *La Rouane*, especially *L'Internelle Consolation* and the translation of the *Tusculans*, but it is clear that the books referred to on pp. 399, 400 must have appeared before his arrest. There is, however, a reference to some serious trouble into which Dolet had fallen shortly before the 6th of April, *probably* 1542, but *possibly* one or two years earlier, in a letter from

laid against him as the law required, and a month elapsed before this was done. In the meantime the 'procureur and promoter of causes of the Inquisition,' the public prosecutor in cases of heresy, with the aid of those who had denounced Dolet, was preparing his indictment and collecting matter for the prosecution; and after his house and shop had been ransacked and his books seized,[1] the prisoner was formally charged with heresy before Matthieu Orry, Inquisitor-General, and Estienne Faye, the official of the primacy and Vicar-General *in spiritualibus* of the Archbishop of Lyons. The substitute of the Procureur-General, Nicole Baconval, was present, and the following persons probably on this occasion sat as assessors, as they certainly did afterwards,—Matthieu Bellièvre, official and judge of the ordinary court for the delinquent clergy of the city and faubourgs of Lyons, Jean de Bourg, reader to the friars preachers of the convent of Lyons and professor of theology, and two doctors of law, Guillaume Vandel and Annemond Chalan.

The charges upon which he was arraigned were these: that in his *Cato Christianus*[2] he had interpolated as the

Britannus to Boyssone printed in *Rob. Britanni Epistolarum Libri Duo*, (Parisiis, 1542) which is as follows :—

'De ipso Doleto audivi modo mœsta, horribilia, inexpectata quædam. Doleo sanè illum in eum locum adductum, ex quo si emergere cupiat, multum illi sit et cum plurimorum invidia laborandum : sed tamen sitne verum nescio. Ego quidem cum illius caussa, tum multorum, et honestissimorum caussa virorum, qui illi favent, hæc omnia falsa esse cuperem. . . . Vale. Burdig. viii. Id. April.'

The year is not given, but the letter, like most of the others in the volume, appears to have been written in 1542. I am unable to explain this passage, for I know of no misfortune that happened to Dolet early in 1542, or indeed anything to which such words as those of Britannus could apply since the homicide of Compaing.

[1] Dolet, Preface to the translation of the *Tusculans*.

[2] The *Cato Christianus* seems to have been submitted to the Sorbonne immediately on Dolet's arrest, and a condemnation of it obtained on

second commandment a precept beginning 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,' and in his paraphrase of the Creed in verse had substituted the words *Habeo fidem* for *Credo*, and had omitted the words *Communionem Sanctorum;* that he had used the word *Fatum* (in his *Epigrams* and in his *Fata Regis Francisci*), not in the sense which the word ought to be used by a Christian, but in the signification in which the ancient heathen philosophers used it, intending thereby to express approval of the doctrine of predestination; that several books which had been condemned and censured as containing erroneous propositions had been printed by him with prefatory epistles of his own composition recommending the perusal of them, namely, *L'Exhortation à la lecture de la Saincte Escripture*, *La Fontaine de Vye*, *Les Cinquante et deux Dimenches* composed by Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Les Heures de la compaignye des Penitens*, *Le Chevalier Chrétien*, and *La Manière de se Confesser* of Erasmus; that he had printed other books in the vulgar tongue without any prefatory epistles, namely, *Le Sommaire de Viel et Nouveau Testament* and *Le Nouveau Testament;* that there were found in his house and in his printing office other books full of errors, among which were the *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon (which some thought, having regard to the form and appearance of the letters, had been printed by him), the *Unio Dissidentium*, the *Bible* of Geneva in the vulgar tongue, and the *Institutio religionis Christianæ* of Calvin; that, notwithstanding that he had been ordered to withdraw the *Cato Christianus* and the *Epigrams* from sale, he had continued to sell them; that he had not (as required by the royal privilege) submitted each book before printing it to the Provost of Paris or the Seneschal of Lyons; that

Sept. 23, 1542. See the judgment in D'Argentré, *Coll. Jud.* vol. ii. part i. p. 229.

he had eaten flesh in Lent and at other prohibited times; that he had walked about during the mass, and said that he preferred the sermon to the mass; and lastly, that in his writings he seemed to doubt the immortality of the soul.[1]

His trial lasted until the beginning of October. Brought from time to time before his judges, formal evidence of most of the facts charged against him would no doubt be easily procured, nor indeed would they (except the last) admit of denial. The only question was, did the facts if proved justify or require a conviction for heresy? But much evidence of a hearsay character tending to the aggravation of the charges and to the prejudice of the accused was offered, at the instance, as he tells us, of his enemies the master printers, and greedily accepted by the Inquisitor. Witnesses were found to swear that they had heard that he had said that he had as much right to eat flesh as the Pope had to compel him to eat fish. Some testified that he was the reputed author of certain songs (profane or heretical) which were current at Lyons. Others had stories to tell to his discredit which they had heard from third persons, some of whom were dead, and the others not called as witnesses. No direct evidence against him, however, except the facts as to which there was no dispute, seems to have been given. The greater part of the trial, as was usual in such cases, was occupied by the examination of the prisoner. The harshness, as it seems to English ideas, which French judges in our own days occasionally display in the examination of prisoners, the insidious and ensnaring questions frequently put to them to lead them to admissions of guilt, give a faint but only a faint idea of a trial for heresy in the sixteenth century, where the judges were in all but name the

[1] *Procès*, pp. 8-11.

prosecutors, where the verdict and the sentence were decided before the trial, and where the chief object of the trial was to draw out admissions from the unfortunate accused which would formally justify the sentence, and perhaps enable the court to increase its severity.

Dolet underwent the usual examinations. He was interrogated not only on the charges specifically made against him, but generally on his life, his habits, and his opinions. Cunningly-devised propositions and questions of theology were put to him with that air of candour and gentleness which the judges of the Holy Office in the early stages of a trial knew so well how to assume. He defended himself by saying, 'with all humility and sincerity of heart,' that he had never wished and did not wish to maintain any error; that he had always declared himself to be an obedient son of the Church, desiring to live and die as a true Catholic Christian ought to do, following the faith of his ancestors, and neither adhering to any new sect, nor contravening any of the decrees of the Church. As to the immortality of the soul, he always maintained that doctrine, and still did so, as would be seen from various passages of his writings, and if anywhere he seemed to express himself otherwise, it would be found to be by way of argument or hypothesis merely.

The word *fatum* he had used to express the providence and certain will of God only, by which He casts us down and again raises us up, and not in any other sense. As to the books composed and printed by him, he was not aware of any doubt or error in them concerning the faith, or anything contrary to the commands of God, or of our holy mother the Church; but, as well in reference to them as to his opinions and language generally, he was desirous of correcting and amending whatever he had written or said erroneously, and he prayed that he might be taken to have

so expressed himself either through ignorance and want of skill, or through the exigencies of the Latin tongue, and the licence which was allowed in using it. As to the prohibited books which were found in his house, but which were not composed or printed by him, he had not obtained them with any intention of either imitating them or following their doctrine, but only from that curiosity which is natural to literary men, so that reading them he might more clearly know and discern the good and true, and might better refute and reprove false and erroneous opinions.

The fact of eating flesh in Lent and at other prohibited seasons he admitted, but alleged that he had done so under the advice of his physician, and with the express permission of the official and other ministers of the Church, because of a malady of long duration from which he suffered, and that he had not intended by that to disparage or condemn any of the laws of the Church, which he entirely approved and wished to conform to, as an obedient son. The truth of the hearsay evidence he absolutely denied, alleging besides that it was both irrelevant and inadmissible.

Although interrogated and reinterrogated during the two months over which his trial extended, he could not be drawn into any admission, or induced to answer any questions as to points of doctrine except as before stated. 'He submitted in all respects to the authority of the Church, and desired only to believe as she directed. If he had fallen into any errors, it was from ignorance, and he was ready and desirous to retract them.' Then he pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court, and denied the competency of the judges. But it can hardly be possible (knowing what we do of Dolet's temper and the character of Matthieu Orry) that the trial would pass without altercations between the prisoner and the judges, and we may be sure that from Dolet's bitter tongue remarks would fall which, however true

or apposite, could not fail to irritate the ignorant fanatic who presided. In Dolet's opinion—an opinion which was shared by the most learned and pious among the reformed—Orry was the most ignorant and malicious of men, eager only to compass the death and destruction of every true Christian. It is hardly probable that he would entirely conceal this opinion throughout the trial, but the following epigram might have been rather supposed to indicate the character of the sneers at his judges in which he indulged, than to represent an actual incident of his trial, were it not that it is related as a fact in a contemporary letter :—[1]

Dolet enquis sur le poinct de la foy,
Dict a Orris qui faisoit ceste enqueste :
'Ce que tu crois, certe point je ne croy,
Ce que je croy ne fut oncq en ta teste.'
Orris pensant l'avoir pris en fit feste
Luy demanda, 'Qu'est ce que tu crois doncq ?'
'Je croy,' dit il, 'que tu n'es qu'une beste
Et si croy bien que tu ne le creus oncq.'[2]

The prisoner's defence, however complete and conclusive, was of no avail. It was the business of Matthieu Orry to convict, not to acquit. On the 2nd of October Dolet

[1] *Lugduni* conjectus est in vincula *Doletus ille* qui nobis *latinæ linguæ Commentarios* scripsit, qui, nuper eductus ut causam diceret coram Synagoga Pharisæorum rogatusque ab Inquisitore fidei (ut vocant) an crederet in Deum, respondit 'se melius illo credere, et aliquid se præterea credere ac scire, quod ille non crederet.' Roganteque Inquisitore quidnam illud esset 'Ego, inquit, credo ac scio te asinum esse et hypocritam, id quod tu non credis.' Letter of Pierre Toussain to Matthias Erb. dated 4 March 1543. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, viii. p. 292.

[2] This epigram is found written (in a contemporary hand) on the reverse of the title-page of a copy of Dolet's *Carmina* in the library of the Academy of Lyons. It was first printed, though not quite accurately, by P. L. Joly in his *Remarques Critiques sur le Dictionnaire de Bayle*. Paris (Dijon) 1748.

was brought before the judges for the last time to hear that sentence, so terrible in its operation, so vague in its wording, by which the Inquisition and the Church hypocritically pretended that the Canon Law, which forbade spiritual judges to cause the shedding of blood, was duly observed, and by which the accused was sentenced to be burnt at the stake. The Inquisitor-General pronounced Étienne Dolet guilty of heretical pravity; he was declared to be wicked, scandalous, a schismatic, a heretic, a favourer and defender of heretics and heretical opinions, and as such was delivered over to the secular arm. He was then removed to the royal prison of *La Rouane*, and forthwith appealed, on the ground of the incompetence of the judges, to the Parliament of Paris.

CHAPTER XXII

The First President

Un viel homme enchaisné, demy ignorant et demy savant, comme un Androgyne de diable qui estoit de lunettes caparassonne comme une tortue d'escailles, et ne vivait que d'une viande qu'ils appellent en leur patois *Appellations*.—Rabelais.

REAT as was the position of First President of the Parliament of Paris, and head of the civil and criminal judicature of France, it will be admitted that it was in general worthily filled, and that France can look back with just pride to a long list of able and upright magistrates who have held the office. This great place, which early in the century had been filled by the unscrupulous and ambitious, but vigorous and able du Prat, which had just been vacated by the virtuous and excellent Jean de Selve, which was soon to fall to the learned and prudent Jean Bertrandi, and upon which in the two

following centuries the Harlais, the de Thous, the Molés, and the Bellièvres were to confer so much lustre, was occupied from 1529 to 1550 by Pierre Lizet, one of the smallest persons who ever held that great office, and who is known to posterity—if known in any way—neither as a judge, nor as a jurist, nor as a theologian, in all which capacities he hoped to go down with lustre to future ages, but as the hero of Beza's merciless satire the *Epistola Passavanti*. As we seldom think of his predecessor the great du Prat without remembering the epithet which Beaucaire not unfairly applied to him, 'the worst of bipeds,'[1] to Lizet we might with justice apply the expression, the most stupid of bipeds! He outrivalled Hercules, says the author of the *Épitaphe de Monsieur Pierre Lizet*:—

> Car il fait mourir en mourant
> La plus grand beste qui fut onques.

Well skilled in the forms and practice of the law, and free from all suspicion of taking pecuniary bribes[2]—for we must not deprive him of the single good quality which he actually possessed—there seems little else to be said in his favour. Obstinate, narrow-minded, and bigoted in the extreme, arrogant in asserting his dignity in trifles as well as in matters of importance, he was as ready to cringe when his interests required it, as to bully when he thought he could do it with impunity.[3] Eager to stretch beyond what was just

[1] 'Bipedum omnium (ut quidam ait) nequissimus.' Belcarius, *Hist. Gallica*, lib. xv. c. 1.

[2] He was so poor when he resigned his office that it was necessary to give him the abbey of St. Victor to provide him with the means of subsistence. But if free from the suspicion of *pecuniary* bribes, he was, according to Henri Estienne, ready to betray the cause of justice if a temptation of another kind presented itself. *Introd. au Traité de la Conformité*, c. xvii.

[3] 'Ex viro, congressu primo, mulier posteriore factus,' says de Thou of him on one occasion. Book vi.

the rights of the treasury and the crown and the *épices* of the judges, he was equally ready when Advocate-General to betray the royal rights in favour of his own private clients. He detested the ancient French customary law, the palladium of the liberties of the north of France, and used all his efforts to substitute the laws of imperial Rome for the old *droit commun des Français*. With the manners, the accent, and the language of a peasant of his native Auvergne, his loquacity, his ostentatious display of ignorance of everything except the matters of his profession, his vanity in thinking himself a great theologian and scholar, were no less sources of amusement and ridicule to his enemies than his personal appearance and figure.

Fancying himself a profound Latin scholar, he delighted when on the bench to display his familiarity with it. His knowledge of the language was about equal to that of Bragmardus, whom Rabelais puts before us saying *Ego habet bonum vino*. When, as sometimes happened, he had to pronounce sentence in Latin, he committed the most ridiculous blunders, and it is said to have been one of his wonderful macaronic sentences which, coming to the ears of Francis I., caused him, in 1539, to issue the edict putting an end to the use of Latin on the judicial bench. The First President having to dismiss an action, he expressed the formula *Déboutons et avons débouté* by *Debotamus et debotavimus!*[1]

Inordinately addicted to wine and women, the extraordinary redness of his face and nose, and his complete baldness, could not fail to afford marks for the shafts of his satirists, and when the unfortunate man's nose finally dropped off it excited no pity, but only ridicule.[2]

[1] Waddington, *Vie de Ramus*, 88; Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.*, vol. vii. p. 381.

[2] See *La Complainte de Messire Pierre Lizet sur le trespas de son feu nez*,

But the worst part of his character has yet to be noted. There was one thing which he loved better than the pleasures of either Bacchus or Venus; it was the persecution of heretics. He was nothing, if not pious and orthodox. If it is doubtful whether that terrible chamber, where the lurid light of the infrequent torches made darkness more hideous, the *Chambre Ardente*, owed its origin to him, yet it is certain that over its sittings for the trial of heretics he almost always presided in person.[1] His tenure of office coincided with the latter half of the reign of Francis I., when the fair promises of the King's youth which had given rise to hopes and expectations that he would prove a true father of letters and a reformer of the Church had been falsified, and when France was cursed with a King who allowed himself to be the tool of his priestly counsellors, and to attempt the destruction of that intellectual progress of which he had once aspired to be the leader. Pierre Lizet was appointed First President in 1529, he filled that office until his compulsory resignation in 1550, and though it would be unjust to attribute exclusively to him the long series of punishments which characterised this period (commencing with the martyrdom of Berquin in 1529), and of which the King himself who sanctioned them must bear the chief reproach, yet it is

appended to the *Epistola Passavanti*, and to many editions of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. Also H. Estienne, *Introd. au Traité de la Conformité*, chap. xvii., 'le nez fut enchassé en plusieurs beaux epitaphes, en attendant que le Pape eust loisir de le canonizer.' In the last chapter of the same book H. Estienne quotes the following as part of an epigram made upon Lizet by 'un scavant personnage' :—

'Viel pourri au rouge museau,
Déshonneur du siècle ou nous sommes.'

[1] Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* book ii. See on the *Chambre Ardente* M. Weiss's work *La Chambre Ardente. Étude sur la liberté de conscience en France.* Paris, 1889. M. Weiss is unable to give the exact date of the formal establishment of the *Chambre Ardente*, but he places it between 11 December 1547 and 2 May 1548.

certain that the severity of the persecution was increased and its bitterness aggravated by the brutal bigotry of the First President, who was never so happy as when sitting in the *Chambre Ardente* trying and condemning (for when he presided the words were synonymous) the so-called Lutherans. Fortunate were the accused who were tried by the *Chambre de la Tournelle*, where the Third President Bertrandi or the President *à mortier* St. André usually presided, for in the *Grand Chambre* (of which the *Chambre Ardente* was a branch) there was no hope either of acquittal or of any but the most severe sentence.[1]

It was as a theologian that Pierre Lizet especially hoped to descend to posterity. On his compulsory resignation of office in 1550, he took holy orders and received the abbey of St. Victor, and then occupied himself in giving to the world the theological lucubrations which he had been for some years preparing. In 1551 and 1552 he published, in a language which he supposed to be Latin, nine elaborate controversial treatises which he fondly hoped would confound the reformers, support the tottering cause of orthodoxy, and (as they were dedicated to the Pope) might possibly entitle him to the hat which du Prat, though a widower and fifty-three years of age when he took holy orders, had obtained, and which Bertrandi was soon afterwards to receive. Harsh and repulsive in style,[2] the matter was even worse. A single

[1] The two courts seem to have carried on their traditions for some time after Lizet's resignation. I have already noticed (p. 405) the difference between the two chambers in 1558, and we find complaints made that the *Chambre de la Tournelle* (presided over by the Presidents *à mortier* Harlai and Seguier) was more favourable to heretics than the *Grand Chambre* where the First President Le Maistre presided (Life of Dubourg in *La France Protestante*).

[2] 'Son style se trouva si dur, que le Pape en ayant, par cas fortuit, porté un feuillet a ses affaires, s'en escorcha tout le sainct siège Apostolique.' H. Estienne, *Introd. au Traité de la Conformité*, chap. xvii. The story is told at length by Beza in the *Epist. Passavanti*:—'Dicitur

specimen of his arguments will suffice. In his treatise against the translation of the Scripture into the vulgar tongue, he pretends that in the early ages of the Church there were two sorts of Latin, one only understood by the learned, that it was into this learned language that St. Jerome translated the Bible, and that this translation, though called the Vulgate, was wholly incomprehensible to the common people at the time it was made!

While these treatises brought the ex-president neither praises nor rewards from his own side, they gave rise to one of the most entertaining and witty satires which the sixteenth century, so rich in pieces of this kind, produced. Beza, who had not yet learned that an air of sanctimonious severity was a necessary mark of Christian piety, aided perhaps by Viret, who to the end of his days was distinguished by his lively and satirical humour, printed in 1553 his 'Epistle of Master Benedict Passavant in performance of the commission entrusted to him by the Venerable Pierre Lizet, late President of the Parliament of Paris, and now Abbot of St. Victor, *prope muros*.' Passavant is supposed to have been sent by Lizet to Geneva to learn what was said there of these wonderful treatises, which were expected by their author to be found unanswerable and to work the ruin of the heretical commonwealth, and in this letter, written in the style of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*,

quod Papa Julius modernus quamvis non plus sciat de Latino quam unus miles et sit melior canonista quam theologista quum audivisset unam partem vestri libri, tenuit tam parvum numerum, ut jusserit portari ad suam latrinam id est ad sedem foraminatam quam dicunt trufatores esse beati Petri : ubi ipse Papa cacat, non in qualitate dei super terram sed in qualitate humanitatis suæ cacaturientis : et ibi cum voluisset semel suas nates abstergere cum illo, reperit vestrum stilum tam durum quod sibi decorticavit totam sedem Apostolicam : et dixit fricando sibi nates : In veritate erat montigena, tam erat durus et asper.' The *Epistola Passavanti* is intended as a caricature of Lizet's Latin style.

the messenger renders an account to his master of the result of his expedition, and omits none of the uncomplimentary criticisms on the book, and the still more uncomplimentary stories to the personal discredit of the author which he purported to have heard at Geneva. The most merciless and caustic ridicule is thrown on the ex-president. His person, his habits, his disappointed ambition, his style, and his arguments, are none of them spared. The book had an immense success. While the treatises of the ex-president fell into such utter oblivion, that neither La Croix du Maine nor Duverdier, though writing less than half a century after their first appearance, could give the titles accurately, and that Bayle was never able to see any of them, and could only refer to the Bodleian Catalogue as an authority even for their titles, the *Epistola Passavanti* had at least six editions in the sixteenth century, was frequently reprinted in the eighteenth,[1] and has within the last few years had the honour of a new edition and a French translation.[2]

The Abbot of St. Victor did not long survive the failure of his hopes to achieve that distinction as a theologian which he had missed as a magistrate. He died on the 7th of June 1554.[3]

Lyons was within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, and it was to this tribunal presided over by Lizet that Dolet now appealed. It will readily be guessed what chance he had of escaping condemnation. Not only had

[1] It is appended to the editions of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* of 1710, 1742, and 1757, and was printed with the notes of Le Duchat in the *Mémoires de Littérature* of Sallengre in 1717.

[2] *Le Passavant de Theodore de Bèze traduit pour la première fois par Isidore Liseux. Avec le Texte en regard.* Paris, Liseux, 1875.

[3] See Bayle, *Dict.*, art. 'Lizet'; Dupin, *Auteurs Eccl. du XVI^me^ Siècle;* Larfeul, *Étude sur Pierre Lizet*, Clermont Ferrand, 1856; Blanchard, *Éloge des Présidents du Parlement de Paris;* Crespin, *Grand Martyrologe.*

he been charged with heresy and atheism, but he was one of a class of men that were the especial aversion of the First President. If there were any class of persons he hated worse than heretics it was that of printers and booksellers. The friend and ally of Béda (who had great influence over him[1]), there can be little doubt that he was one of those who had instigated the King to issue the edict of 1535 for the suppression of printing. In 1538 we find him busily engaged in the prosecution of Jean Morin the printer of the first edition of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, and there exists a letter from the '*pauvre jeune garçon libraire*' from prison to the Chancellor Dubourg, appealing to him against the First President, and praying for letters of remission setting him at liberty.[2] About the same time we find Lizet writing[3] in great glee to the Chancellor, how that shortly before he had caused a bookseller named Jehan de la Garde, with his books, together with 'certain other persons,' to be burned,[4] and showing great anxiety to proceed against Morin. He even kept a bookseller in his pay, one André, to discover and betray sellers and buyers of heretical books.[5]

Fortunately for the prisoner, the sentence was pronounced at Lyons and not at Paris. In cases of heresy it was seldom that more than a few hours intervened between the sentence and its execution, and an appeal to the Parliament, when it could be lodged and heard immediately, only resulted in expediting the execution, and some-

[1] Bayle, *Dict.*, art. 'Béda,' Note E.

[2] *Notice sur Des Periers*, prefixed to Lacour's edition of the *Nouvelles Recreations et Joyeux Devis*, Paris, 1874.

[3] *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, vol. iv. p. 418.

[4] One of the 'other persons' was a youth of twenty. Sleidan gives an account of his execution. '*Tolosanus adolescens nobilis et literarum studiosus.*' (*Comment.* lib. xii.)

[5] Crespin, *Grand Martyrologe* (edit. of 1597), p. 177.

times increasing the severity of the penalty. The sentence of perpetual imprisonment was pronounced on Berquin on the 16th of April 1529. He straightway appealed to the Parliament. His appeal was heard and rejected on the morning of the 17th. The Parliament reformed the judgment and condemned him to be burnt alive, and the sentence was carried out the same afternoon.

With Pierre Lizet as its head, it was probable that an appeal to the Parliament would not be allowed ; it was certain that if allowed the sentence would be confirmed, but at least time would be gained, during which the King might personally be applied to. An appeal from Lyons could not be disposed of with the same indecent haste that was shown in the case of Berquin. The appeal had to be lodged, the prisoner and the *procès* brought up from Lyons. Jean de Peyrat was, fortunately, still Lieutenant-Governor, and would take care that there was as much delay as possible before the flames were lighted. It was he who, as before mentioned, caused the execution of the sentence on Baudichon de la Maison Neuve to be delayed so as to allow of the intervention of the Lords of Berne, and who had thus saved the life of the great citizen of Geneva. But there was no time to be lost. Unless the King would evoke the cause before himself, a very few weeks must see the confirmation of the sentence and the lighting of the flames. The first step was successful. By letters patent of the 7th of October the King withdrew the appeal from the Parliament and remitted the case to the Grand Council. The effect of this was, that in any case, considerable delay must ensue before the sentence could be confirmed or carried out.

In the meantime Dolet was left in the prison at Lyons, where he remained more than three months after his sentence. He was allowed pens and paper, and at least

a few books, and occupied himself in preparing, with a view to publication, elaborate defences of himself in Latin and French[1] from the charges on which he had been condemned, and in revising and preparing for the press his translation of the first three books of the *Tusculan Disputations*, which in his translation of the *Familiar Epistles* he tells us he had already composed. It appeared whilst he was still in prison, prefaced by an epistle to the King, dated from the prison of Lyons, the 15th of January 1543.[2]

In this epistle he narrates his trials and convictions, he alleges his innocence, and denies the charge of heresy. He appeals to the protection of the King, and more vigorously than prudently denounces the ignorant monk (*Monsieur Le Moyne* as he sometimes calls him) before whom he was tried, and whose legal right to try him and to style himself Inquisitor of Faith he injudiciously calls in question.[3]

The royal letters patent withdrawing the appeal from the Parliament, and directing it to be heard by the Grand Council, had no other effect than that of causing delay, for either the Council itself rejected the appeal and remitted the case again to the Parliament, or the enemies of Dolet obtained the revocation of the letters patent. All that we

[1] These are lost. Dolet refers to them in the preface to the translation of the *Tusculans*.

[2] Until shortly before the publication of the last edition of Brunet's *Manuel* no copy of this first edition of Dolet's translation of the *Tusculans* was known; and that it had been printed by Dolet himself was only inferred from an edition printed at Paris by Ruelle in 1544. A copy was, however, at length discovered in the public library at Dôle, and on consulting it I found it prefaced by the interesting epistle to the King to which I have several times referred in the text, and which does not appear in the subsequent editions. The late M. Baudrier was the possessor of a second copy of the original edition.

[3] 'Matthieu Orry soy-disant Inquisiteur de la Foy; je ne scais si plutost se deburait appeller *inquietateur* d'ycelle.' Preface to the *Tusculans*.

know certainly is that some time before the month of June (1543) the appeal was remitted to the Parliament of Paris, and the prisoner brought up from Lyons and imprisoned in the *Conciergerie* pending the hearing.

Up to this time the efforts of Dolet's friends to obtain the royal pardon had been unsuccessful. It was a difficult task they had undertaken. A single friend of literature and men of letters remained in attendance on the King. Pierre Duchâtel, now Bishop of Tulle and reader to the King, had become an absolute necessity of life to his master. He was the King's dictionary and encyclopædia. Francis I., who had seen and known many learned men, used to say that Duchâtel was the only one whose knowledge he had not exhausted after two years' intimacy. Lively, intelligent, well-informed, in his early manhood alternately a professor, a corrector of the press, an adventurous traveller, the King found him a most entertaining and instructive companion. He had made the acquaintance of Francis in 1536, and rapidly rose in the royal favour, which he retained until the King's death. At first a sympathiser with the reformed doctrines, he subsequently professed the strictest orthodoxy,[1] and sometimes expressed himself concerning heretics and

[1] Yet he did not altogether escape the imputation of heresy. In his funeral orations on the death of Francis I. he said that the soul of the King had gone straight to paradise. The doctors of the Sorbonne (whom he had offended by his protection of Robert Estienne) complained of so horrible a doctrine. Pious as Francis I. was, his soul could not have escaped passing through the flames of purgatory. Deputies were appointed to wait upon the new King, and to charge Duchâtel, who had just been appointed Grand Almoner, with heresy. They were received and entertained at dinner at St. Germans, where the King then was, by his *maître d'hôtel*, a certain Mendoza, who urged them not to proceed further with their complaints. 'I know well the disposition of the late King,' he said, 'he never could bear to remain long in one place, and if he did go to purgatory, he only just stayed to drink a stirrup-cup.' Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* book ii.

heresy in terms which we cannot but regret, but which do not justify the severe language used of him by Beza and Henri Estienne. It was seldom that he attempted to influence his master's opinions or actions. It was still more rare for him to oppose Cardinal de Tournon. But he was determined to make a vigorous effort to save from a cruel death one of the foremost French men of letters, and one with whom he had formerly been on terms of intimacy and friendship. No time was to be lost; the Parliament was certain to confirm the sentence, and it would immediately be carried out. No further delay would be possible. A petition to the King was forthwith prepared by Dolet stating his case and the circumstances of his trial, repeating his offer of submission and retraction of his errors, setting forth the certainty of his conviction by the Parliament, and praying the King's pardon. The document is judiciously worded and well calculated to affect the King favourably to the prisoner. It was presented by Duchâtel, who personally and warmly urged the cause of his friend. In the result, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Cardinal, he was successful. The proceedings before the Parliament were again stayed, the case was brought up by the King's command before the Privy Council, and there inquired into; a favourable report was made to the King, and before the end of June 1543 (Francis being then at Villers Cotterets) the good Bishop had the satisfaction of obtaining for the prisoner the royal pardon.

The letters of remission were in terms full and complete: the heretic was to abjure all his errors before the Official of the Bishop of Paris, all the books written and printed by him referred to in the *procès* were to be burnt to ashes, but subject to these conditions, all that had been done with reference to the prisoner, the appeals, the sentences, the judgments, the decrees, the trial, the procedure, were

declared null and void; perpetual silence was imposed on the Procureur-Royal; Dolet was declared to be restored to his good name, fame, and life; his goods, which as an effect of the sentence were to be confiscated, were restored to him; the Parliament was commanded to register the pardon, and to allow the prisoner the full advantage thereof in every way, and forthwith to set him at liberty.

The royal pardon was, however, but one step towards the liberation of Dolet. The Parliament was always ready to raise obstacles to the registration of a royal edict, and (as in the case of the decree ordering the suppression of the art of printing) a strong and judicious opposition, if well supported by personal influence, not infrequently caused a suspension or even a modification of the royal letters. The Parliament had at its head a bigoted and violent opponent of religious reform and intellectual progress, and among its principal members were many who, if behind the First President in ignorance and stupidity, were equal to him in their hatred of the reformers and the men of letters. In a body which, besides having Pierre Lizet as its head, had François de St. André as a President *à mortier*, and Gilles Le Maistre as Advocate-General, it was not difficult to find pretexts for refusing to register the pardon or liberate the prisoner.

It will be remembered that, owing to some mistake on the part of Dolet or his advisers, the royal pardon granted to him for the murder of 'Guillot dit Compaing' had never been registered, and that Dolet had only been liberated by the Lieutenant-Governor of Lyons, on giving security to appear for sentence whenever called upon. Accordingly, when on the 19th of July the prisoner appeared in the Criminal Court of the Parliament, presented the royal pardon, and demanded that the same should be registered, his application was refused on the ground (as it seems) that

he was still under sentence of death for the murder of Compaing, and that the letters patent of the preceding June in no way freed him from that sentence or its consequences, and the prisoner was taken back to the *Conciergerie*.

On the 24th of the same month he again appeared in the chamber of *La Tournelle* and presented the pardon of the 19th of February 1537; but it was contended by his opponents that this pardon, not having been duly registered by the Seneschal of Lyons, was of no effect and could not be pleaded, and the court again refused his application. Once more the King was personally applied to, and on the 1st of July further letters patent were granted by Francis, ordering the Parliament forthwith to register and give the prisoner the benefit of the letters patent of February 1537. Again difficulties were made, and during the two following months the unfortunate prisoner was frequently brought before the court and interrogated, no doubt in the hope that admissions might be obtained from him inconsistent with his abjuration and submission to the Church, or that he might be goaded into the use of unseemly or violent language which would enable the Parliament, while professing to recognise the royal letters, to punish Dolet for contempt, or for acts or language subsequent to the date of the pardon.

But the good Duchâtel was unwearied in his efforts. The King's literary tastes had not yet wholly passed away, and he seems to have been convinced by the Bishop of Tulle that it was Dolet's love of letters, and not his opinions, that had led to his prosecution. Though rapidly sinking into a state of mental and physical weakness, and a prey to bigotry and superstition, there were still moments in which Francis resembled his former and better self, and recollecting that he had been called the father of letters, was unwilling to seem wholly unmindful of his reputation. The

refusal to register his successive pardons could not but have been distasteful to him, and accordingly further letters patent were issued on the 21st of August confirming the former, ordering in peremptory terms the pardons already granted to be forthwith registered and due effect given to them, or that the Parliament should within fifteen days set forth and show to the King its grounds for refusing the registration. This time success attended the efforts of Duchâtel. On the 13th of October 1543 Dolet was again brought before the court in the chamber of *La Tournelle*, all the letters patent were read, the Procureur-General was heard, and the court decreed the registration of the several letters of pardon and amplification; the prisoner was ordered to be liberated upon duly making his abjuration before the Official of the Bishop; at the same time his books were ordered to be burned. The sentence was pronounced by the President *à mortier*, François de St. André.

It is impossible to praise too highly the conduct of Duchâtel in this matter. Accomplished and intelligent, he was a man neither of strong opinions nor of firm principles. Essentially a courtier, he desired a life of learned leisure, accompanied by royal favour and an abundance of good things of all kinds, yet he risked the loss of all these by his zealous attempts to save the life of one whom the most powerful man in France, the Cardinal de Tournon, had decided was an atheist, and had determined should be burned. The Cardinal bitterly reproached the Bishop of Tulle for his conduct. 'Do you,' said he, 'who hold the rank of bishop in the Catholic Church, dare to oppose yourself to all who have the interests of religion and piety at heart, and to defend before the most Christian King, not only those wretches who are infected with the Lutheran heresy, but even atheists and blasphemers?' Duchâtel replied that he had not defended and did not defend any of

Dolet's crimes or heresies, that he had only interceded with the King for one who promised a reformation of life and manners befitting a Christian man. 'I,' he continued, 'act the part of a bishop of the Church of Christ. I follow the teaching of the Apostles, and of all those saints and martyrs who by their blood have built up our holy Church. It is their example which instructs me that the duty of a bishop consists in turning the hearts of kings from bloodshed and cruelty, in inclining them to gentleness, clemency, and mercy. In accusing me of forgetting my duty as a bishop it is you who forget your own. I have spoken as a bishop, you are acting as an executioner.'[1]

Released from prison, Dolet lost no time in returning to Lyons to his wife, his son, his press, and his books. These, not gold or silver, were, as he tells us, his treasures. To Lyons he was bound by the strongest ties of affection : it was there that he desired peacefully to pass his life, and to pursue his literary and typographical avocations.

[1] Gallandus, *Vita Castellani*, p. 62. About the same time, or a little later, Duchâtel successfully used his credit with the King in favour of Ramus. Galland, Danès, Gouvea, and others had so worked upon the King's mind as to induce him to decide on condemning Ramus to the galleys for his heresies on the subject of Aristotle. It was then that Duchâtel, turning the matter into ridicule, appeased the King, and induced him to come to a milder resolution. He represented to him that it did not become so enlightened a king to inflict a criminal punishment on a sophist whom no one believed to be serious, and who understood nothing of philosophy, but that he ought rather to be made to dispute, before competent judges, with other learned men, whose arguments might convince him, and perhaps cure him of his folly.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Second Enfer

As good almost kill a man as kill a good book ; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself ; kills the image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth ; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.—Milton.

OT disheartened by his past misfortunes, or by the confiscation of nearly all his books, Dolet lost no time in again setting his press to work. But his misfortunes had, as he thought, taught him caution, and he was fully resolved to keep out of the dangerous line of theology, and neither to write nor print henceforth any book which could cause the least scandal or bring him into the least danger. The *Commentaries* of Cæsar, and new editions of his history of Francis I., of his observations upon Terence,

of the works of Marot, and of the three books which had previously hit the tastes of the time and enjoyed for the moment an enormous popularity, *La parfaicte Amye*, *L'Amye de Court*, and *Du Mespris de la Court: et de la louange de la vie Rusticque*, were the first fruits of his freedom after his fifteen months of imprisonment, and were books which afforded no handle to his enemies. But he had underrated their hatred and their power. Shortly before the 6th of January 1544, two packets, on which were written in large legible letters the name of Étienne Dolet, were seized as they were entering the gates of Paris, and, when examined, were found to be filled, the one with books which had been printed by him, the other with prohibited books emanating from the heretical press of Geneva. So far as we know, there was no evidence whatever that the books had been sent by Dolet; he positively denied that such was the case, and it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that, if he had sent them, he would have caused his now too well-known name to be inscribed upon them. Besides, the whole of the heretical books printed by him or found in his house had been confiscated, and were already in the possession of the Parliament or the Sorbonne. But the clumsy *ruse* of his enemies was successful. The matter was forthwith brought before the Parliament. Dolet was charged with sending prohibited and heretical books to Paris, and an order for his arrest was despatched to Lyons. It reached him on the 6th of January, whilst in the midst of his family and friends he was celebrating '*le jour des rois*,' as he himself tells us :—

> Quand on me vint au corps ainsi saisir ;
> Car à cela alors point ne pensoys,
> Et de crier le Roy boyt m'avançoys.

His denial of the charge was of no avail; he was

forthwith arrested and committed by the Lieutenant-General of the Seneschalty to the custody of Jacques Devaulx, *messager ordinaire* of Lyons, who was charged with the duty of taking him to Paris, and in the meantime he was thrown into the prison at Lyons, where, however, he only remained two days. On the day following he persuaded the *concierge* of the prison that it was of great importance to him that he should on the next day visit his house in the Rue Mercière, as a sum of money was payable to him which the debtor would not pay unless he was there in person to receive it ; and he further added the inducement that he had some excellent Muscat wine just ready for drinking, and that if the *concierge* would conduct him for a short time to his house he could receive the money, and then they could together drink the Muscat '*à plein fonds*.'

Gaolers and turnkeys have at all times had the reputation of being thirsty souls, and, induced by the promise of the wine, and not impossibly of a pecuniary gratification or a commission on the amount to be received, the *concierge* agreed to his prisoner's proposal, taking, however, as he thought, due precautions against his escape. A supper was provided at Dolet's expense for the *concierge* and four *sergents-de-ville*, and very early the next morning, before dawn, the *concierge* and his prisoner, preceded and followed by two *sergents*, left the prison of *La Rouane*, which occupied the site of the present Palais de Justice. The bridge which now crosses the Saône at that point did not exist in the sixteenth century, but it seems probable that a foot-bridge, possibly of boats, then occupied its place. The party would cross the river by this bridge, and then would gain the Rue Mercière very near to Dolet's house by the Rue de la Monnaie. The Rue Mercière then runs parallel to the Saône and to the Quai St. Antoine for some distance in a northerly direction. At the corner of the Rue de la

Monnaie stood the convent of St. Antoine, and a little to the north of the convent stood the house occupied by Dolet. The upper stories of all the houses in this part of the street have been since then demolished and rebuilt, but the solid stone ground floors of most of them still remain as they were in the sixteenth century. The entrance then was, and still is, into an arched stone passage, which not only gives access to the house itself, but extends (or communicates with a further passage) under the house at the back facing the river, and so affords a means of egress to the Quai St. Antoine exactly as Dolet describes it.[1]

The members of Dolet's household were prepared for his visit, and had, as it appeared, privately received his directions as to the course to be pursued. On arriving at the house, Dolet knocked at the door leading into the dark arched passage; it was only partially and momentarily opened, after much apparent hesitation, by some one from within, who appeared greatly terrified at the sight of the guard and immediately shut the door in the faces of the new-comers. Dolet, however, forced his way into the passage; the *concierge* and *sergents*, not knowing the locality, followed as best they could, the outer door was shut and fastened behind, another door was hastily opened and as hastily shut; Dolet passed through it, but the *concierge* and *sergents* remained

[1] I owe it to the kindness of M. le Président Baudrier that I am able thus precisely to identify the locality of Dolet's house. He was good enough to walk with me from the Palais de Justice to the Rue Mercière, following the route which Dolet and the *concierge* must have traversed, and through several of the still existing stone passages which connect the houses on the west side of this street with the Quai St. Antoine. Though Dolet's house itself cannot be precisely identified, yet his description of it and the narration of his escape enables us to decide with certainty that it was one of those lying on the westerly side of the street, a little to the north of the site of the convent of St. Antoine. M. Boulmier has strangely mistaken the locality in giving Dolet a house on the quay.

fastened up like birds in a cage, while the prisoner escaped through the passage at the back leading to the quay, and soon was far from Lyons. He succeeded in making his escape to Piedmont, where he remained concealed for some months.[1]

In the meantime, although Dolet had in person escaped from the hands of his enemies, his books were still in their possession, and it will be remembered that part of the sentence of the Parliament was that they should be burnt. It would seem that this part of the sentence was not immediately carried into execution, and it may not improbably have been the very books which were ordered to be burnt that had been made use of for the infamous plot against him which I have already narrated.

Next to burning heretics, nothing delighted the First President so much as burning books. If he had not a hand in the plot himself, we shall not be far wrong in attributing it to his creature André, whom, as before mentioned, he kept in his pay for the purpose of discovering and betraying the buyers and sellers of heretical books. The plot having for the present failed by the escape of the prisoner, a grand *auto da fé* of the books was decided on, and that this might be done with more pomp and publicity it was determined not to rest upon the sentence already

[1] The account of Dolet's arrest and escape is taken from his poem addressed to the King in his *Second Enfer*. Jacques Devaulx, in his petition to the Parliament of Paris praying to be reimbursed his expenses arising from Dolet's escape and subsequent capture (Archives Nationales, Carton x^2 b 6), states that on January 7 he had been 'chargé par le lieutenant général de la Seneschaucée de Lyon d'amener prisonnier des prisons ordinaires de Lyon en la conciergerie du palais ung nommé Estienne Dolet imprimeur de Lyon lequel des le VIII[e] desd. mois et an seroit évadé des mains et puyssance dud. suppliant.' It is not impossible that Devaulx is the person referred to by Dolet as the *concierge*.

pronounced, but to have the matter again brought before the Parliament and a formal decree made for their burning. At a sitting of the Grand Chamber on the 14th of February 1544, presided over by the First President Lizet in person, the Inquisitor-General made an application for a special direction for burning the books mentioned in the sentence of the preceding 13th of October, as containing damnable, pernicious, and heretical doctrines, and on his demand the court ordered that they should be burnt at the *parvis* of the church of Notre Dame at Paris, to the sound of the great bell of the church, public proclamation, accompanied by the sound of the trumpet, being at the same time made, forbidding all booksellers and printers thenceforth from possessing such books, under pain of being punished as heretics and favourers of heretics. Nevertheless the court ordered that a single copy of each book should be preserved and carefully kept in the registry of the Parliament. The sentence is signed by the First President, and would be forthwith carried into execution.[1] Of several of the books named in the sentence no copy is now known to exist, while others are represented by a single copy, probably the one that was retained by the order of the Court.

The mountains of Piedmont afforded Dolet a safe retreat. There he occupied himself in preparing a series of

[1] The following were the books ordered to be burned :—*Les Gestes du Roy*, *Epigrammes de Dolet*, *Caton Chrestien*, *L'Exhortation à la lecture de la Saincte Escripture*, *La Fontaine de Vye*, *Les Cinquante-deux Dimenches composés par Fabre Stapulense*, *Les Heures de la Compaignie des Penitens*, *Le Chevalier Chrestien*, *La manière de soy confesser d'Erasme ; Le Sommaire du Vieil et Nouveau Testament imprimé par le dict Dolet ; Le Nouveau Testament, imprimé par icelluy Dolet en francoys*, *Loci communes de Melanchthon*, *Unio Dissidentium*, *la Bible de Genève*, *Calvinus intitulé*, *Institution de religion chrestienne*, *per Calvinum*. *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, p. 30 ; D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 133 ; *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 1 Jan. 1885.

poems upon his imprisonment, to which he gave the name of *Le Second Enfer*. In 1532, Marot, then in prison on charges of heresy, had described his imprisonment, and appealed against it to the King, in a volume which he subsequently published under the name of *L'Enfer*, and from this time the expression '*L'Enfer de Marot*' has been used as a synonym for a prison. Dolet borrowed the title from his friend. He had intended, as he tells us in the preface, to publish a *Premier Enfer*, relating to the fifteen months' imprisonment which had so lately terminated; but his arrest and flight had prevented him from printing, although he had nearly completed, this work, and the necessity of obtaining the royal pardon for his escape from the hands of justice, and permission to return to France, induced him to compose and publish his *Second Enfer* before the first had seen the light. It was completed on the 1st of May 1544, and shortly afterwards, unable to resist the desire of once more embracing his wife and son, Dolet ventured to enter France, and even to make his way to Lyons, hoping that his visit would remain undiscovered, and intending, after he had given the necessary directions for printing his *Second Enfer*, to proceed to the royal camp, which was then pitched in Champagne, to present to the King, whom he expected to find there, the pathetic epistles with which the book commences, and to entreat pardon for his escape, and permission to return in peace to Lyons. 'Lately returning from Piedmont in company with troops of veteran soldiers in order to proceed with them to the camp which you, most Christian King, have pitched in Champagne,' thus he subsequently wrote to Francis I., 'affection and paternal love would not allow me to pass near Lyons without visiting it; so, laying aside all thoughts of the danger and risk which I ran, I went there to see my little son, and to visit my family. Being at Lyons four or five days, for the contentment of my spirit I did not forget to examine my

treasures to see if there was anything spoiled or lost. My treasures are not gold or silver or other perishable things, but the products of my mind as well in Latin as in your French tongue, treasures of far more importance to me than earthly riches, and which I hold in singular affection for this reason, that these are they which will make me live after my death, and will bear witness of me that I have not lived in this world as an idle or useless person. Examining these my said treasures, I chanced to light upon two dialogues of Plato which I had some time since translated, and as I had resolved to publish certain of the compositions which I had made in justification of myself with reference to my second imprisonment, it has seemed good to me to add to these compositions the said dialogues, since the one is not unsuited to my condition, being upon the miseries of human life, and the other is to show you that I have commenced and made good progress in the translation of the whole of the works of Plato. So that either in your kingdom or elsewhere (since without cause I have been driven from France) I promise you with the help of God that I will give you within a year the whole of Plato translated into your own language.

'Certainly, if my chief aim were not the honour and welfare of my country, I should not devote myself to such excessive labour ; but even if France should prove ungrateful in reference to me (I call it ungrateful, since its rulers try to trouble me and expel me from it without any crime of mine), I shall not on this account cease from enriching it and illustrating it in every way that I possibly can. It is in your power, Sire, to put an end to these my troubles, and by your goodness and clemency to give me still greater heart for pursuing and effectuating my literary enterprises as well Latin as French, and that you would do this I most humbly beg and pray.'

The volume which Dolet caused to be printed at Lyons, containing the *Second Enfer* and the two dialogues (*Axiochus*,

then erroneously attributed to Plato, and *Hipparchus*), is in some respects the most interesting of all the compositions of its author. Its extreme rarity is such that no copy is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and that neither Née de la Rochelle nor any of the writers before M. Aimé Martin who have referred to it (except Goujet) were able to meet with it. The single copy of the Lyons edition now known to exist is among the treasures of the Mazarin library, and it is from this that M. Aimé Martin published his reprint in 1830. The epistles of which the *Second Enfer* is composed are some of them of considerable poetic merit, and are written in a pathetic and elevated tone, full of lofty and noble sentiments, asking for the writer's liberty, yet never in a servile spirit, but on the grounds of his innocence and his deserts, and I cannot but think that they conclusively disprove the charges of irreligion and impiety. But the chief interest in the volume does not arise from its merits or character, but from the fact that it cost its author his life. Three words of the translation of *Axiochus* constituted one of the capital charges against Dolet. Of this book M. Aimé Martin has remarked that 'it is one of the pieces of the great process prosecuted by fanaticism against the friends of intelligence and of reason. Dolet published it to justify himself from the calumnies of the monks, and the monks suppressed it in order to destroy all traces of their victim. Such a work ought not to perish. We should always be able to find a copy to throw at the feet of those who regret the temporal power of the Church, and the weakness of kings who allowed it to rule.'

The *Second Enfer* consists of twelve epistles in verse : two addressed to the King, two to the Duke of Orleans, one to the Cardinal of Lorraine, two to the Duchess D'Estampes, and one each to the sovereign and venerable court of the Parliament of Paris, the heads of justice at Lyons, the Queen

of Navarre the sole Minerva of France, Cardinal de Tournon, and the author's friends. The first epistle, addressed to the King, is both the longest and the most interesting. Dolet gives an account of the plot of his enemies in preparing and sending to Paris the two packets of books, and shows the absurdity of supposing he had done this; he gives an account of his imprisonment and of his escape, and then defends his life, his opinions, and his actions. A single crime he appears to admit, that he had continued since the royal pardon to sell several books of Holy Scripture: this seems to have been 'the head and front of his offending':—

Mais quelcques gens ne sont point à leur aise,
De ce que vends, et imprime sans craincte,
Livres plusieurs de l'Escripture Saincte.
Voyla le mal dont si fort ilz se deulent:
Voyla pourquoy ung si grand mal me veulent:
Voyla pourquoy je leur suys odieux:
Voyla pourquoy ont juré leurs grands dieux
Que j'en mourray, si de propos ne change
N'est ce pas la une rancune estrange?

In his epistle to the Chiefs of Justice of Lyons, he is still more explicit on this subject:—

Or on scait bien, et bien scavoir se peult,
Que la raison, dont de moy on se deult,
Et dont je suys poursuyvy par Justice,
N'est pour forfaict, et aulcun meschant vice,
Auquel je soys par trop abandonné.
C'est seulement que me suis addonné
(Sans mal penser) depuis ung temps certain,
De mettre en vente en Francois et Latin
Quelcques livrets de la saincte Escripture.
Voyla mon mal, voyla ma forfaicture
Si forfaicture on la doibt appeler.
Mais si au Roy il plaist me rappeller
Et faire tant, que ce malheur me sorte,
Je suys content, que le Diable m'emporte,

Ou qu'on me brusle, ou qu'on me face pendre,
Si pour tel cas jamais tombe en esclandre.

He promises the King that for the future he will never be guilty of this crime :—

Quant au surplus je m'en deporteray,
Et ton vouloir en tout je parferay :
Car s'il te plaist me defendre tout court,
Que veu le bruict, qui partout de moy court,
Je n'aye plus à liures imprimer
De l'Escripture ; on me puisse opprimer,
Si de ma vie il en sort ung de moy ;
Et si j'en vends, tomber puisse en esmoy
De mort villaine ou de flamme ou de corde
Et de bon cœur à cela je m'accorde.

Although here, as elsewhere, he seems to have had a singular prevision of the fate that was to befall him, and which the boldness of his language seems to invite, he by no means wishes for death. On the contrary, he begs the King to grant him life that he may devote it to study and the production of works useful to his country :—

Vivre je veulx, pour l'honneur de la France
Que je pretends (si ma mort on n'avance)
Tant celebrer, tant orner par escripts,
Que l'estrangier n'aura plus à mespris
Le nom Françoys : et bien moins nostre langue
Laquelle on tient pauvre en tout harengue.

Then, with more vigour than prudence, denouncing the enemies of literature and culture into whose hands the wretched King had now fallen, and whose slave, though sometimes unwillingly, he now was, he calls on Francis not to permit the persecutions of the learned, but to protect them against the malice of their enemies :—

Permettras tu que par gens vicieux,
Par leur effort lasche et pernicieux,

Les gens de bien et les gens de sçavoir,
Au lieu d'honneur, viennent a recepvoir
Maulx infiniz, et oultrages enormes ?
Il n'est pas temps, ores, que tu t'endormes,
Roy nompareil, des vertueux le pere :
Entends tu point au vray, quel vitupere
Ces ennemys de vertu te pourchassent,
Quand les sçavantz de ton royaume ilz chassent,
Ou les chasser a tout le moins pretendent ?
Certes (grand Roy) ces malheureux entendent
D'anihiler devant ta propre face,
Et toy vivant, la bienheureuse race
Des vertueux, des lettres et lettrez.

All that he desires and supplicates from the King is to be allowed to return to France, to dwell peacefully at Lyons, to devote himself to literary pursuits.

'These verses,' remarks M. Aimé Martin, 'as verses, are far from being admirable ; but what elevation, what courage there is in the sentiments which they proclaim ! Thus to attack face to face the enemies of humanity, to throw light into the hearts of kings, to teach them that which no one dares to say to them, but which they have so much interest in knowing, namely, that they should make their glory repose on the happiness and intelligence of their people, to do that to-day, would be to deserve well of mankind, to do that in those days of superstition was to devote oneself to death.' [1]

The epistles to the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duchess d'Estampes, and the Queen of Navarre, need not detain us. Dolet repeats the assertion of his innocence, gives an account of the false charge upon which he had been arrested, and entreats the interest of these powerful personages with the King. In his epistle to the Parliament of Paris he ventures on a still bolder strain, and

[1] *Réhabilitation* (p. 8), prefixed to the reprint of *Le Second Enfer*. Techener, 1830.

defends himself and his acts, and indirectly literature generally, in a strain of noble indignation, which if the author really expected it to have any effect, shows us how entirely ignorant he was of the cruel heart and narrow mind of the First President :—

Quand on m'aura ou bruslé ou pendu,
Mis sur la roue, et en cartiers fendu,
Qu'en sera-il ? ce sera ung corps mort.
Las ! toutesfoys n'auroit on nul remord
De faire ainsy mourir cruellement
Ung qui en rien n'a forfaict nullement ?
Ung homme est il de valeur si petite ?
Est ce une mouche ? ou ung verms, qui merite
Sans nul esgard si tost estre destruict ?
Ung homme est il si tost faict et instruict,
Si tost muny de science et vertu,
Pour estre ainsi qu'une paille ou festu,
Anihilé ? faict on si peu de compte
D'ung noble esprit qui mainct aultre surmonte ?

He concludes with asking from the parliament—

Ung bon arrest qui en sens bref et court
Dira comment la venerable court
Du parlement de Paris me remect
En mon entier : et qu'au neant el'mect,
Du tout en tout, mon emprisonnement,
Sans que jamais bruict en soyt aultrement ?
Cela faisant, justice vous fairez,
Et d'equité grande vous userez
En relevant l'innocent de malheur,
Qui ne taira jamais vostre valleur.

To Cardinal de Tournon, the all-powerful minister, he protests his innocence from all thought of heresy, he declares that he has lived and wishes to live a good Christian ; he reminds the Cardinal, perhaps rather maladroitly, that it was he who seven years before at Moulins had presented his

Commentaries to the King, and that to him he was indebted for the royal privilege to print the books which he should compose and edit, and he begs now for a single word to the King in his favour. But it is in the epistle to his friends with which the *Second Enfer* concludes that the author rises to his highest strain. He has done with apologies, he has done with justification, he has done with complaint, and as a true disciple of Cicero and Plato, conscious of his innocence, conscious of his integrity, he is prepared for either fortune, equally ready for life or death :—

Bon cueur, bon cueur ; c'est à ce coup,
Que Fortune a faict son effort,
Pour me dresser du mal beaucoup :
Mais tousiours je suis le plus fort,
Car combien qu'elle tasche fort
De ruiner ce peu de bien,
Que j'avoys quis par bon moyen,
Toutesfois, l'esprit me demeure.
Parquoy oster ne me peult rien,
Que ne recouure en bien peu d'heure.
C'est assez, que l'esprit s'asseure,
Et qu'il ne perd point sa constance :
Victeur sera (c'est chose seure)
Du monstre armé a toute oultrance.
O que Vertu a de puissance !
O que Fortune est imbecille !
O comme Vertu la mutille,
Quand elle prend le frein aux dents !
Vertu n'est jamais inutille :
Les effects en sont evidents.
Ne plaignez doncq' mes accidents
Amys : doulcement je les porte,
Et me ry de ces incidents :
Car Vertu tousiours me conforte
Tant, que j'espere faire en sorte,
Que Fortune à moy attachée,
La premiere en sera faschée :

Et que du mal bien me viendra.
Ce ne sera chose cachee:
Je suys certain qu'il adviendra.

Had the book ended here we could hardly imagine that even the First President could have found matter for condemnation. But after the *Enfer* came the two dialogues, *Deulx Dialogues de Platon, Philosophe Divin et supernaturel, Scavoir est L'ung intitulé Axiochus, Qui est des miseres de la vie humaine et de l'immortalité de l'ame. Et par consequence du mespris de la mort. Item ung aultre, intitulé Hipparchus, qui est de la convoitise de l'Homme, touchant la lucratifve. Le tout nouvellement traduict en langue Francoyse par Estienne Dolet, natif D'Orleans*, 1544. This was one of the earliest attempts to clothe any of the writings of Plato in a French dress, and it is curious that the first dialogue to be translated into that language should be one of those now admitted to be apocryphal.[1]

[1] According to Née de la Rochelle, the *Axiochus* had already been translated into French and printed at Paris. The authority cited for this statement is the catalogue of the library of Count Hohendorf (now at Vienna) part 3, No. 1930, where a French translation of the *Axiochus* appears, *undated* but bound up with pieces dated 1537 and 1539, from which Née de la Rochelle conjectures that the *Axiochus*, would be about the same date. The only other copy known of this translation is in my possession, having been purchased by me at the sale of Baron Pichon's Library (May 1897, Cat. No. 1114). Baron Pichon thought it *peut être unique*, but from the fact that the title agrees with that given in the Hohendorf Catalogue I have no doubt that they are both copies of the same book. The following is the title: *Axiochus Dialogue de Xenocrates Platonique, ou est traicte de despriser la mort, et de limmortalite de lame, traduict de Grec en Francoys. On les vent a Paris a la rue sainct Jaques a lenseigne des troys Corones par Hierome de Gourmont.* The dedication is signed 'Gu. Post,' and confirms the statement of La Croix du Maine that the *Axiochus* had been translated by Postel. The translation seems to be made—as the title states—directly from the Greek, and is altogether different from that of Dolet. A comparison of the two leads to the conclusion that neither translator was acquainted with the other's work, but I

Whether Dolet translated these Dialogues directly from the Greek, or from the Latin translations already existing, has been considered a matter of doubt, and the question whether he was in fact acquainted with the Greek language has been a subject of much discussion among his critics and biographers.[1] Duverdier states him to have been '*bien versé es langues Grecque et Latine.*' Baillet adopts this statement. La Monnoye, however, in his edition of the *Jugemens des Savans*, says,[2] 'It does not appear by the works of Dolet that he knew Greek, his pretended versions of the *Hipparchus* of Plato and the *Axiochus* have been made from the Latin translations.' Maittaire quotes this passage, but is disposed to give more weight to Dolet's own statement that he had devoted much time and labour to the study of Greek as well as Latin.[3] Née de la Rochelle, however, whilst admitting the weakness of Baillet's

am unable to form any opinion which was the earlier in point of time. I only find two other books of Postel printed by Jerome Gourmont, *Syriæ Descriptio*, 1540, and *Signorum Coelestium Configuratio*, 1553. In the Yemeniz catalogue, No. 473, is a translation of the *Axiochus* printed at Paris by Denis Janot, but without date. A note states it to be a second edition of Dolet's translation, and it is so given in the last edition of Brunet's *Manuel* (vol. iv. c. 703), but this seems doubtful, the title being altogether different. I have been unable to meet with a copy of the book.

The same year (1544) that Dolet's translation of the two dialogues appeared, a French translation of the *Lysis* of Plato by Des Periers was printed at Lyons by De Tournes, with other works of Des Periers. It is erroneously stated by M. Aimé Martin (*Réhabilitation*, p. 21) to bear the mark of Dolet, the *doloire* or axe.

[1] We cannot attach much weight to the statement of so bitter an enemy as Fr. Floridus who writes 'verum de Græcis Doletus non loquitur, *qui ne primis quidem Græcæ linguæ rudimentis sit imbutus.*' *Adv. Doleti Calumnias.*

[2] Vol. i. pt. 2, p. 43.

[3] Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* vol. iii. p. 82. M. Boulmier has strangely misunderstood Maittaire's remark. He says (p. 213), 'Maittaire qui produit en note cette assertion du savant Dijonnais (La Monnoye) la combat au moyen d'un argument plus spécieux que solide, en invoquant l'autorité de La Croix du Maine et de Duverdier tous deux *probablement*

argument, attempts with much ingenuity to combat the statement of La Monnoye, and to show that Dolet was a Greek scholar. He rests his case,[1] first, on the statement of Dolet himself, who in his *Manière de bien traduire* says that the reading of the Latin and *Greek* languages was his principal occupation; secondly, on the privilege granted to him by Francis I., for the impression of *Greek*, Latin, Italian, and French books, composed, translated, revised, amended, illustrated, or annotated by him; thirdly, he contends that it would have been impossible for Dolet to have understood or translated the works of Cicero without understanding Greek, since Cicero has made frequent use of Greek words, has inserted in his works a great number of Greek passages in verse and prose, and has translated or imitated from that language a still greater number, so that, without a knowledge of Greek, Dolet would have been stopped at each line of his translation of the *Familiar Epistles*, and still more of that of the *Tusculans;* lastly, he replies to the argument that might be drawn from the fact that Dolet had not in fact printed any Greek books, by saying that neither had he printed any Italian work, yet that it could not be denied that he knew that language after having spent more than four years in Italy. Née de la Rochelle further refers to the Greek verses addressed to Dolet by Honoré Veracius, with the remark, 'C'est à mon avis se moquer d'un savant, que de le louer en face dans une langue qu'il n'entend pas.'[2]

I need hardly say that M. Boulmier, who invariably

versés dans la langue Grecque.' This is just what Maittaire does *not* do. He points out that Baillet was in error in citing La Croix du Maine as an authority for Dolet's knowledge of Greek, as that writer says nothing on the subject, and though he considers La Monnoye wrong in saying that Duverdier was altogether ignorant of Greek, his own view is based not at all upon Duverdier's opinion but upon Dolet's own statements.

[1] *Vie de Dolet*, p. 71. [2] *Ibid.* p. 94.

adopts the conclusion most favourable to the reputation of his hero, concludes that 'Dolet knew sufficient Greek to understand and translate Plato, not only by the aid of a Latin version, but directly from the original text.' I have already mentioned that I have been fortunate enough to discover two (partially) Greek books printed by Dolet, and which have been hitherto entirely unknown, the *Institutiones* and *Meditationes Grammaticæ* of Clenard.[1] To the first of these is prefixed a Latin ode by Dolet himself. Née de la Rochelle's arguments do not seem to me to be of much force. All the passages quoted by Cicero in the *Tusculans* from Greek authors are cited in Latin, and there are not more than about a dozen isolated Greek words given in that work; and as to these, and the verses of Honoré Veracius, if verses they can be called, they could have been easily translated, with the aid of the dictionary of Craston, Gyllius, or Morrhius, by any one who knew the Greek alphabet; an ability to translate these certainly does not at all imply the ability to read Plato in the original, and a careful perusal and consideration of Dolet's translations of the *Epistolæ Familiares* and the *Tusculans* as well as of his other writings leads me to the conclusion that he had acquired a certain superficial acquaintance with Greek, but I can find nothing whatever to induce me to think that he was competent to read Plato, much less to translate his writings from the original. But further, a comparison of Dolet's translation of the *Axiochus* with the Latin versions of Agricola and Ficinus makes it quite clear to me that Dolet's translation is made direct from that of Agricola, and not from the Greek original, though I am far from meaning to suggest, or even from thinking, that

[1] The *Meditationes* include the Epistle of St. Basil to St. Gregory. Besides these, Dolet printed T. Gaza's Greek translation of Cicero *De Senectute* and *Somnium Scipionis*.

he had not gone through the originals with the assistance of one or more of the Latin translations.[1]

The *Second Enfer* and the two dialogues were committed to the press by Dolet during his short stay at Lyons, but it is not probable that he was himself able to superintend their publication, and indeed it has been assumed by all his biographers, that within a few days after his arrival at Lyons he was there discovered and arrested. This, however, is an error. His arrest did not take place at Lyons, nor until some time after he had left that city, not long indeed before the beginning of September (1544). In the letter to Francis I. prefixed to the two dialogues,[2] he states that his principal object in leaving his retreat in Piedmont was to proceed to the King's camp in Champagne in order personally to obtain, as he seems to have thought he should have no difficulty in obtaining, the royal pardon for his escape from prison. Now in this same year (1544), simultaneously

[1] The dialogue entitled *Axiochus*, by whomsoever written, enjoyed a greater popularity about this time than any of the genuine writings of Plato. (Even an English translation appeared in 1592, nearly a century before any part of the genuine works of Plato was translated into our language.) No less than four independent translations of it into Latin had appeared before 1544, and of two of them there had been numerous editions. The earliest printed was that of Marsilius Ficinus, by whom the work was attributed to Xenocrates. It was printed, with the translation of Iamblichus and other works, by Aldus in 1497, and again in 1516. At least eight other reprints appeared before 1540. The dialogue had, however, been translated by Rudolf Agricola, of whose translation the first edition with which I am acquainted appeared at Antwerp in 1511. It was reprinted in 1515, twice in 1518, and again in 1532. In 1523 Pirckheymer published a translation at Nuremburg, and in 1542 there was printed at Paris, and reprinted the following year at Basle, an edition of the Greek text, with a translation by Joachim Perion. Of these translations I only know those of Ficinus and Agricola, both of which I have compared with Dolet's French translation. Of the *Hipparchus* I know of no translation printed before 1544 except that of Ficinus.

[2] *Ante*, p. 444.

with or very shortly after the publication of the *Second Enfer* at Lyons, an edition, with several of the compositions of Marot added, was printed at Troyes in Champagne by Nicole Paris. The poems of Marot are judiciously selected for the purpose which Dolet had in view, namely, of obtaining the favourable consideration of the King. They comprised Marot's epistle to the Duke of Orleans praying him to use his influence with his father to obtain the poet's recall from exile, several pious and orthodox compositions in praise of the Virgin and of our Lord, and one in praise of the King. I have already stated that I think that the wife of Dolet was either a native of or connected with Troyes, the great seat at that time of the paper manufacture in France, and it seems to me probable that Dolet, after entrusting the manuscript to his wife or some confidential assistant for the purpose of being printed, left Lyons (perhaps finding that his presence there was known or suspected) and proceeded to Troyes, intending thence to make his way to the royal camp if he found that the King was there in person, and that at Troyes he decided to print from a manuscript which he took with him, intending to present it to the King, his *Second Enfer*, together with the compositions of Marot, in order that a printed copy might be laid before the King on his arrival at the camp. Certain it is that at Troyes he was arrested by Jacques Devaulx, the *Messager* of Justice of Lyons who afterwards claimed payment from the Parliament of Paris for his costs and expenses in reference to the escape and arrest of Dolet, and who we may well believe had discovered Dolet's visit to Lyons, and had thence tracked him to Troyes.[1]

[1] The conjecture which I expressed in the first edition of this book that it was at Troyes—not at Lyons—that Dolet was arrested, is turned to a certainty by the petition of Jacques Devaulx which has been found for me by M. Stryienski in the National Archives. It is printed in full in the Appendix to this volume.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Place Maubert

What is it, life? a little strife, whose victories are vain,
Where those who conquer do not win, nor those receive who gain.
Lord Strangford.

HE petition of Jacques Devaulx to the Parliament of Paris asking for the payment of his expenses tells us that after the escape of his prisoner at Lyons, on 8th January 1544, he diligently searched for Dolet in Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, Burgundy, Franche Comté, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and elsewhere, and ultimately arrested him at Troyes and lodged him in the prison there about the end of August or the beginning of September in the same year. Devaulx then proceeded at once to Paris, which he reached in three days, to obtain the directions of the Parliament. A commission from that body was forthwith issued authorising him to engage twenty men and horses, and

to return with them to Troyes, and bring Dolet to Paris, and lodge him in the *conciergerie*. Pierre Segnault, *Sergent Royal ou Baillaye du Palais*, was included in the commission and ordered by the *Procureur Royal* to accompany Devaulx. On the day following their arrival at Troyes, where as it is stated Dolet had been ten days in prison, they left that city with their prisoner, taking besides the twenty men on horseback, six additional men on foot for the distance between Troyes and Sens. After three days' journey they reached Paris as it would seem on the 12th of September.[1] Dolet was forthwith delivered over to the custody of the officers of the Parliament, and thrown into the *conciergerie* from which he had been discharged less than a year before, and where he was to pass the remainder of his life.

The First President determined that the trial should take place before himself; yet even on a trial before Pierre Lizet, it would, one imagines, have been difficult, upon the trumped-up charge of sending the books to Paris and the subsequent escape from the hands of justice, to condemn the prisoner to

[1] Jacques Devaulx—whose name is variously written Desvaulx, des Vaulx and Devaulx in the *pièces* of the *Procès*—and Pierre Segnault immediately applied to the Parliament for payment of their expenses. See in the Appendix the petitions with several orders made thereon. Devaulx claimed more than 100 ecus, but seems to have been allowed only 186 livres 3 sols and 6 deniers. In the recital of his petition contained in the decree of the Parliament of 2 August 1546 (*Procès*, p. 36) it is stated that he claimed more than *mille ecus*, but this is not borne out by the petition of 17 September 1544. The decree of 2 August 1546, refers also to a petition of 16 September 1543, which has not been found. The documents printed in the Appendix are all that M. Stryienski has been able to find in the Archives in addition to those already printed by M. Taillandier in the *Procès*. It will be noticed, however, that though the actual petition of Devaulx is dated 17 September, his application for payment had been made on or before the 13th, on which day the taxation of the Huissier de Montmirel is dated. It is therefore possible that there may have been some other petitions, to which that of 17 September was merely supplementary.

death, since the ample letters of remission of the King duly registered by the Parliament freed Dolet from the consequence of the acts which had formed the pretext for his former conviction and sentence. Even in the *Chambre Ardente*, and when the First President presided, a prisoner must be charged with some offence of a capital nature to allow of his being sentenced to death, whatever might be the character of the evidence, perjured or otherwise, to be adduced on the part of the prosecution.

The only publication of Dolet since his release in 1543 (except the reprints already referred to) was the volume containing the *Second Enfer* and the Dialogues of Plato. This it was now determined to examine in order to find matter for the prosecution of the author, and it was accordingly referred to the Faculty of Theology of Paris. No heresy was found in the *Second Enfer*, or in the translation of *Hipparchus*, but it was otherwise with the *Axiochus*. The aim of the writer of that dialogue was to prove the immortality of the soul, an aim which was carefully kept in view by the translator, and we may well believe that one of the objects which Dolet had in view in printing it was to prove the falsity of the rumour which, as we have seen, had prevailed, that he disbelieved or doubted the existence of the soul after death. The following is the argument which he prefixed to the dialogue: 'This dialogue of Plato is nothing else than a divine remonstrance which Socrates made to Axiochus, who had been in his life a man of great wisdom and virtue, but finding himself at the point of death he was troubled in spirit, and did not continue in his former firmness. This remonstrance of Socrates, then, consists of a clear proof of the immortality of the soul, and a declaration of the evils which there are in human life from which we are delivered by death; we then return to the eternal mansions, where every felicity and happiness abounds for those who have lived virtuously.'

In the course of the argument, however, which is perhaps more ingenious than solid, Socrates is represented by the author as making the following remark concerning death :—

"Οτι περὶ μὲν τοὺς ζῶντας οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες οὐκ εἰσίν· ὥστε οὔτε περὶ σὲ νῦν ἐστίν, οὐ γὰρ τέθνηκας, οὔτε εἴ τι πάθοις, ἔσται περὶ σέ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσει.

This is thus translated by Dolet :—

'Pour ce qu'il est certain que la mort n'est point aux vivants : et quant aux defuncts, ilz ne sont plus : doncques la mort les attouche encores moins. Parquoy elle ne peult rien sur toy, car tu n'es pas encores prest à deceder ; et quand tu seras decedé, elle n'y pourra rien aussi, attendu que tu ne seras plus *rien du tout*.[1]

The passage in the original taken by itself hardly seems to advance the general argument, and even to be opposed to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, though this is by no means the case when taken in apposition with the context,[2] but even the Sorbonne would scarcely have had the hardihood to accuse Plato (to whom the dialogue was then by many attributed) of doubting or denying the immortality of the soul, it was therefore necessary to allege that it was wrongly translated. On the 14th of November 1544, the Faculty of Theology assembled in the hall of the Sorbonne. 'A sentence from a certain book of Plato translated into French by a certain Dolet was read, which is as follows, *apres la mort tu ne seras plus rien du tout*. It was judged to be heretical, agreeing in the opinion of the Sadducees and the

[1] The following is the translation of Agricola : 'Quoniam neque circa viventes est : hi vero qui obierunt non sunt amplius. Itaque neque apud te est non dum enim obiisti : neque si quid tibi accidat, est circa te futura non enim eris.'

[2] Although Socrates seems to adopt the sentiment which he expresses, yet it is a statement of an argument which he heard from Prodicus, and which he merely uses as an illustration of his own views.

Epicureans, wherefore it was committed to the deputies in matters of faith to pronounce a censure upon the same book.[1]' The censure declares 'that in the dialogue called *Acochius* (sic) the passage *attendu que tu ne seras plus rien du tout* is wrongly translated and is contrary to the intention of Plato, in whose work neither in the Greek nor in the Latin are there these words *rien du tout*.

The crime of Dolet was thus having added to the text of Plato the words '*rien du tout*,' words which if they are not to be found in the original, or in the Latin translation, in no way alter the sense of the text, but only express more clearly the author's meaning, and the censure was made by theologians ignorant even how to spell correctly the title of the book they condemned. Yet these three words, added merely for the purpose of more completely expressing the sense of the author, contributed in no small degree to Dolet's death, and seem to have formed the sole ground of the charge of blasphemy, one of the three counts of the indictment upon which the capital and final sentence was based.

The First President had not often such a criminal as Dolet before him, one who combined in his own person nearly every character that was hateful to Pierre Lizet; he was a printer, a scholar, and a heretic, or something worse. Of heretics and journeymen printers Lizet had condemned abundance, but never since the condemnation of Berquin in 1529 had a scholar and a poet (the author of more than fifteen works) been brought before the Parliament on the charge of heresy. The process was long, but we have scarcely any details of it. From the sentence it appears that the charges were principally three, blasphemy, sedition, and exposing for sale prohibited and condemned books. The blasphemy, which seems to have been the principal charge,

[1] D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, vol. i. p. xiv; *Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, p. 33.

was, as we have seen, that contained in the translation of the *Axiochus*; the charge of exposing prohibited and condemned books for sale would be based partly upon the false allegation of sending the two packets of books into Paris, partly upon the fact, which he admitted, that he had sold portions of the Holy Scriptures in French and Latin; the nature and ground of the charge of sedition we can only conjecture. The escape from prison could hardly be intended by the word sedition, but bearing in mind the part Dolet had taken in the disputes between the master printers and the journeymen, and also the fact which he tells us that his former arrest was the work of the master printers, I incline to think that it would be in reference to this matter that he was accused of sedition.[1] He was further charged generally with '*autres cas par luy faictz et commis depuis la remission, abolition, et ampliation à luy donnée par le roy au mois de juing et 1er jour d'aoust* 1543.' The same course was taken as on the previous trial; the prisoner was brought before the Judge and interrogated, but, weak and weary as he must have become by the long imprisonment, his spirit does not seem to have been broken, and to judge from the sentence which was ultimately pronounced, no admissions were obtained from him. But besides the direct charges against him the sentence refers to two other questions raised in connection with his trial. On the 6th of September 1544, a petition was presented on behalf of Charlotte wife of Jehan Mareault, and Jehan Compaing (probably the sister and brother of Guillaume Compaing), praying that, in case Dolet should be condemned and his goods confiscated, five hundred *livres tournois* which had

[1] Prior to the *accord* of May 1, 1543, there had been some tumultuous scenes between the masters and the journeymen (Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*, p. 63), and Dolet may not improbably have taken part in them, and as they had formed no part of the matters charged against him on his former trial, it may have been held that they were not covered by the royal pardon.

been awarded to the petitioners by the sentence of the Seneschal of Lyons might be paid to them, and that in case Dolet should be found innocent of the charge made against him, the petitioners might be heard before his discharge in respect of their interest under such sentence.

The other matter referred to in the sentence was the petition presented by Jacques Devaulx, in which the petitioner alleged the great costs, charges, and expenses, amounting according to the sentence to more than a thousand crowns, besides his time and trouble, '*pour la fuyte industrieuse du dict Dolet, duquel il avoit la charge pour le amener prisonnier en la conciergerie du palais, et aussi pour l'avoir reprins et amené a grand fraiz prisonnier en la dicte conciergerie*,' and prayed that he might be reimbursed.

Sentence was not pronounced until the 2nd of August 1546, the process having thus lasted nearly two years, during the whole of which Dolet was kept in prison in the *conciergerie*, except on the occasions when he was taken before his judges. The pathetic and noble epistles of the *Second Enfer* had been of no service to him. There was a time when such poems would have touched the heart of Francis I., but Francis was now merely the shadow of his former self. Suffering physically from the terrible vengeance inflicted on him by the husband of La Belle Ferronière, his mind altogether sunk in lethargy and superstition, he had become the mere grovelling creature of the priests and their supporters who surrounded him, and who seem to have allowed the wretched King but two indulgences, the society of his mistress the Duchess d'Estampes, and of his reader Pierre Duchâtel. To both he was greatly attached, but neither of them ventured to interfere with the schemes of the '*parti prêtre*.'

The years 1545 and 1546 are two of the most horrible in the history of France, two of the most horrible in the history of the Catholic Church. A decree was prepared

by Cardinal de Tournon and Jean de Maynier, Baron d'Oppède, First President of the Parliament of Aix, revoking the letters patent of the 15th of June 1544, by which all proceedings against the Vaudois had been suspended, and ordering that, notwithstanding all subsequent letters of pardon, the severe decree of the 18th of November 1540, should be forthwith carried out. Such a decree, in order to be regular, required the sanction of the keeper of the seals before it was presented to the King for his signature, and the counter signature of the same official. Olivier, then keeper of the seals and afterwards Chancellor, less pliable—or less callous—than he afterwards became, shocked at the wholesale murders which were in contemplation, refused to sanction the decree or to present it to the King for his signature. The Cardinal caused it to be presented by L'Aubespine the Secretary of State, and the royal signature was obtained. It was countersigned by L'Aubespine.

It was not likely that Olivier would affix the seals to a decree so irregularly and illegally obtained. Accordingly the Cardinal again interposed, and by some unexplained means surreptitiously caused the seals to be affixed. And then a scene of brutality commenced, which had not been witnessed in France since the days of the crusades against the Albigenses. On the 12th of April 1545, the Baron d'Oppède read to the Parliament of Aix the royal decree, and the day following placed himself at the head of the soldiers who were appointed to carry out the royal commands. 'These troops,' says M. Henri Martin,[1] 'reinforced by the papal Vice-legate of Avignon and by a fanatical and brutal populace, at once attacked the Vaudois territory. At first the inhabitants offered no resistance; murder, rape, and flames were let loose against the whole district. At the sight of eight or ten villages in flames the inhabitants of Mérindol

[1] *Hist. de France*, tom. viii. book 48.

fled to the woods and mountains. The soldiers only found in entering that town one inhabitant, a poor idiot ; d'Oppède caused him to be shot. Then they discovered some women in a church. These unfortunate creatures after a thousand outrages were thrown headlong from the rocks of the castle. After burning Mérindol, the cut-throats marched upon Cabrières, a fortified place, which prepared to defend itself and to submit to a siege ; d'Oppède offered to the inhabitants their lives and property, and on the 20th of April the Vaudois opened their gates. D'Oppède ordered the troops to put the whole of the population to death. The old soldiers of the army of Piedmont declared that their honour was engaged by the capitulation and refused to obey the First President's order. The fanatical military and rabble who followed d'Oppède, headed by his two sons-in-law, obeyed. Slaughter went on in the streets, in the castle, in the church. To the latter, a multitude of women and children had fled : the furious horde rushed headlong among them and committed all the crimes of which hell could dream. Other women had hidden themselves in a barn ; d'Oppède caused them to be shut up there, and fire set to the four corners. A soldier rushed to save them and opened the door, but the women were driven back into the fire with blows of pikes. Twenty-five women had sought an asylum in the cavern of Mus at some distance from the town. The Vice-legate of Avignon, a worthy rival and coadjutor of d'Oppède, caused a great fire to be lighted at the entrance of the grotto : five years afterwards the bones of the victims were found in the recesses of the cavern. La Coste had the same lot as Cabrières ; the lord of La Coste, a relation of d'Oppède, had conjured the latter to spare his subjects; d'Oppède promised to do so, the gates were opened, and all the horrors of Cabrières were renewed. A great number of the wretched inhabitants threw themselves from the walls,

stabbed or hanged themselves, in order to escape the horrible treatment of the executioners, who prolonged with an infernal art the agony of an entire town. A mother finding herself with her daughter in the hands of these ferocious beasts, drunk as they were with blood and lust, pierced her own heart with a knife, and handed the weapon all bleeding to her daughter.

'The three Vaudois towns were destroyed, three thousand persons massacred, two hundred and fifty-six executed after the massacre, and after a phantom of a trial, six or seven hundred more were sent to the galleys, and many children sold as slaves.'

Cardinal de Tournon rejoiced at the result, and at his instance the King formally expressed approval of these massacres. Letters patent of the 18th of August 1545, were issued, by which Francis solemnly approved of all that had been done against the Vaudois. At Rome the satisfaction was as great as at Paris. Paul III. was especially delighted; he wrote a flattering letter to d'Oppède, congratulating him on his pious work, and conferring upon him the Order of the Golden Spur and the title of Count Palatine. The Catholic party was everywhere delighted and triumphant. The King's conversion was now manifest. Henceforth he definitively belonged to the reactionary party: the remonstrances of the League of Smalcalde and of the lords of Berne had been unavailing, and the cause of reform and intellectual freedom in France had received the first of that series of blows which was to culminate a hundred and forty years after in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But the extirpation of the Vaudois did not stop the persecutions; the year 1546 was fruitful in martyrs of the Reformed Church. At Meaux, still an ardent focus of Protestantism, no less than sixty members of the reform party, of whom nineteen were women, were condemned, fourteen to the flames,

and the remainder to severe corporeal or pecuniary penalties. Fourteen stakes were arranged in a circle, and the condemned were burnt alive, at an *auto-da-fe* which in the number, if not in the rank of its victims, rivalled those of Spain. Nor were the executions confined to Meaux. Never had Matthieu Orry been so busy. We find him presiding, or sitting as assessor, in many provincial towns : at Sens the Archdeacon denounced and caused to be burnt his own nephew ; in Paris the flames were more than once lighted, and everywhere among the pious and orthodox were to be heard praises and thanksgivings for the conversion of the King, and for the example he was setting his people by these displays of real Christian piety and Christian practice.

At such a time it was not to be expected that any voice should be raised in Dolet's favour. There can be little doubt that Duchâtel had been given to understand that a second intervention would cost him his place, and might even render him personally liable to charges of heresy, and an ostentatious display of orthodoxy certainly characterised this part of his life. Nor is it probable that there was much sympathy anywhere felt for the unfortunate prisoner. He, in an age devoted to theological disputes, cared for none of those things ; with the reformed doctrines he had never sympathised, and except two or three who were men of letters as well as theologians, such as Charles de Sainte Marthe and Theodore de Bèze, the reformers were generally hostile to him. Calvin placed him in the same category with Servetus, and would probably have assisted Orry in promoting his burning with as much alacrity and satisfaction as he subsequently displayed in betraying the unfortunate Spaniard into the hands of the same Inquisitor. Yet the high spirit, the elevation of feeling, and the consciousness of his own rectitude which appears in the *Second Enfer*, did not desert Dolet during the two weary years of imprisonment, neglect, and

danger, which followed his final arrest. Conscious though he must have been that at any moment sentence might be pronounced against him, and knowing full well what the sentence must inevitably be, yet in the last of his compositions, written very shortly before his sentence, he expressed himself as saddened indeed by his misfortunes, by the neglect of his friends and of the whole world, but as consoling himself by submission to God, by the consciousness that he had done nothing worthy of death, but had lived a life not of innocence merely, but of noble aims and no inconsiderable results, and he shows us that the firmness and serenity of his mind was unbroken. The following are among the last utterances of 'Estienne Dolet, a prisoner in the Conciergerie of Paris, written in the year 1546, on his desolation and on his consolation' :—

Si au besoing le monde m'abandonne,
Et si de Dieu la volonté n'ordonne
Que liberté encores on me donne
Selon mon vueil ;

Doibs-je en mon cueur pour cela mener dueil,
Et de regretz faire amas et recueil ?
Non pour certain, mais au ciel lever l'œil
Sans aultre esgard.

Sus donc, esprit, laissés la chair à part,
Et devers Dieu qui tout bien nous départ
Retirez-vous, comme à vostre rempart,
Vostre fortresse.

. . . . .

Mais vous esprit, qui sçavez la parole
De l'Eternel, ne suivez la chair folle ;
Et en celuy qui tant bien nous consolle,
Soit vostre espoir.

Si sur la chair les mondains ont pouvoir,
Sur vous, esprit, riens ne peuvent avoir ;
L'œil, l'œil au ciel, faictes vostre debvoir
De là entendre.

Soit tost ou tard, ce corps deviendra cendre ;
Car à nature il fault son tribut rendre,
Et de cela nul ne se peult deffendre ;
Il fault mourir.

Quant a la chair il luy convient pourrir ;
Et quand a vous, vous ne pouvez perir :
Mais avecq Dieu tousjours debués flourir,
Par sa bonté.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Sus, mon esprit, monstrés vous de tel cueur ;
Vostre asseurance au besoing soit cogneue :
Tout gentil cueur, tout constant belliqueur,
Jusque à la mort sa force a maintenue ![1]

On the 2nd of August 1546, the First President Lizet, sitting in the *Grand Chambre*, pronounced sentence on Dolet as guilty of blasphemy, sedition, and exposing for sale prohibited and condemned books, 'charges which are set forth more at length in his process,' and condemned him to be taken by the executioner in a cart from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Place Maubert, where a gallows was to be erected in the most convenient and suitable place, around which was to be made a great fire, into which, after having been hung on the said gallows, his body was to be thrown, with his books, and burnt to ashes, his property to be confiscated to the King. 'Nevertheless the Court orders that before the execution and death of the said Dolet, he is to be put to torture and to the extraordinary question in order that he may inform of his companions ; and it is the will of the Court (*retentum in mente curiæ*) that *if the said Dolet shall*

[1] This pathetic *cantique*, the last utterance of Étienne Dolet, remained in manuscript for more than two centuries. Then, having fallen into the hands of Guillaume de Bure, it was communicated by him to Née de la Rochelle, who printed it in his *Vie de Dolet* (p. 142).

cause any scandal or utter any blasphemy, his tongue shall be cut out, and he shall be burnt alive.' To this sentence the signature of the First President is appended.[1]

[1] I have endeavoured to give all the facts relating to the trials and sentences of Dolet so as to enable the reader to form his own conclusions, but I have not hesitated to express, or at least to indicate clearly, those at which the facts have compelled me to arrive. It may, however, be, that my judgment is to some extent coloured by sympathy for Dolet and his pursuits, by hatred of religious persecution, and by the recollection of the bitter and persecuting spirit displayed by Matthieu Orry and Pierre Lizet in other cases. There is another view which may be taken of the final sentence, and which is adopted by one so capable of judging as the late M. le Président Baudrier, distinguished not only as a judge and jurist, but at the same time one extremely well acquainted with the literary, religious, and political history and institutions of the time. He is, I need hardly say, *a priori* more likely to arrive at a true judgment as to the significance of the procedure, the cause of the sentence, and the motives likely to have actuated the judges, in the case of a trial or series of trials in France in the sixteenth century, than I can be. The conclusion to which M. Baudrier comes is this; that Dolet can in no respect be considered as a martyr for his opinions, that his persecutors existed only in his own brain, that his misfortunes arose solely from his *mauvaise tête* and *mauvais cœur*, that the judges and courts which condemned him simply carried out the existing laws without any prepossession or prejudice, that though these laws were unduly severe (as were the laws of every country at that period), yet, so far as they applied to the case of Dolet, they did not trench upon liberty of conscience, and were neither unduly nor unfairly pressed against him. For the ten years previous to the final sentence Dolet had been an incessant law-breaker. Twice he had been found guilty of capital offences. Twice he had been condemned to death by the courts of Lyons; the sentence in one case having been confirmed on appeal by the Parliament of Paris. He had been found guilty and sentenced for a riot by the Parliament of Toulouse. He had several times been summoned before the courts at Lyons for offences against the press laws. He had been rescued from the capital sentences simply by the royal pardon, upon the representations and by the influence of powerful friends. Tried for the third time, upon a capital charge of blasphemy, sedition, and exposing for sale prohibited books, and the judges being satisfied upon the evidence (as to which we have no counter evidence except the statement of the prisoner himself) that he was guilty, the Parliament had no option but to pronounce upon him the capital sentence

The sentence was carried out on the day following, the 3rd of August, the day of the Invention of St. Stephen, and the day on which Dolet entered his thirty-ninth year. We are fortunate in possessing an almost contemporary narrative of the event, though unfortunately not by an eye-witness. Three weeks afterwards, a certain Florent Junius wrote to Herman Læthmatius, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Utrecht, an account which had been given to him by one of the officials who assisted at the execution.[1] It was of course not to be expected that an atheist should be simply executed in pursuance of the sentence. Physically weakened by the torture which had been applied to him the previous night or the same morning, or possibly both, he had now to be morally tortured by the confessor with a view to induce him to repent and publicly abjure his errors. Whatever the result, the Church would be the gainer. If he repented and abjured his errors, it was a triumph, far greater in the case of a scholar and a reputed atheist such as Dolet, than in the case of a poor wool-carder of Meaux, who, as the Church herself declared, scarcely understood the doctrines on which he presumed to form an opinion. If, on the other

which, however, was done in no haste, but after two years had been spent in investigating the charges. He came before the Parliament of Paris as a notorious, a persistent, and a wilful law-breaker, and was looked upon by the court, and treated in exactly the same manner, as a persistent law-breaker would be (and justly) by the courts at the present time. After a series of offences such as those adverted to, no sentence other than a capital one could have been pronounced upon him.

I cannot say that this reasoning is to my mind conclusive, though it is undoubtedly of weight and worthy of consideration, and I think in the interests of historical truth I ought to put it before my readers. If I do not in this note attempt to controvert it, it is because the line of reasoning that has led me to take a different view is sufficiently indicated, though not always categorically expressed, in the text.

[1] This letter is inserted in Almeloveen's *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ*, Amsterdam, 1694, p. 78.

hand, he persisted in his impiety to the point of death, the brutalities of the *retentum* would be carried out, the physical tortures of the condemned would be increased, and an enjoyment would be afforded to the pious crowd of which they would have been deprived by the repentance of the sinner. On his arrival at the place of execution, Dolet was exhorted to think of his salvation, and to recommend himself to God and the saints. He did not show himself too eager to follow the advice, but muttered something or other, when the executioner declared to him that he had orders to speak to him of his salvation before the people. 'You must,' said he, 'invoke the Blessed Virgin and your patron saint, whose fête is celebrated to-day, and if you do not do this, you know quite well what I am to do.' The unhappy prisoner knew it too well. If the executioner's commands were not obeyed, if Dolet did not invoke the Blessed Virgin and St. Stephen, his tongue would be cut out and he would be burnt alive.

Dolet, who had always professed himself a good Catholic, would have no difficulty in repeating what was to him an unmeaning formula, and so avoiding the terrible sufferings which a refusal would have entailed upon him. He obeyed the directions of the executioner, and repeated in Latin the form of invocation which was suggested to him, 'Mi Deus, quem toties offendi, propitius esto; teque Virginem Matrem precor, divumque Stephanum, ut apud Dominum pro me peccatore intercedatis.'

He then, so Florent Junius was informed by the official, warned the assistants to read his books with much circumspection, and declared several times that they contained many things which he had not properly understood or meant. A moment afterwards the sentence was carried out. He was suspended at the gallows, and then, when he was possibly dead, but more probably still breathing, the faggots

were lighted, and the author and his books were consumed in the flames.

Such was the manner in which the festival of St. Stephen was celebrated in the good old times, the times which an influential party, led by men of exalted rank and high culture, fondly regret, and would gladly see restored. But their efforts are happily vain ; whatever were the excesses and crimes of the Revolution, it has placed an impassable barrier between the good old times and the nineteenth century.

The account of the execution given by Florent Junius was that which the Church desired should go forth to the people. The official who was the informer of Junius, assured him that at the last moment Dolet had repented of his errors. The same story had been spread abroad respecting Berquin. The confessor who attended him at the stake told Montius that he had acknowledged his errors, adding, 'I doubt not that his soul departed in peace.' 'I do not believe a word of it,' wrote Erasmus, to whom Montius had communicated this statement, 'it is the usual story which these people invent after the death of their victims.'[1]

Jacques Severt in his *Anti-Martyrologe*[2] relates a story

[1] Erasmus, Epist. 1060. 'On sait l'usage invariable des jugements ecclésiastiques : c'est d'affirmer que le coupable a tout avoué, tout retracté, qu'il s'est démenti à la mort. Depuis que l'Église n'a plus le Chevalet ni l'Estrapade elle a toujours le confesseur qui suit le patient, bon gré, mal gré, et qui ne manque pas de dire du plus ferme des nôtres : il s'est reconnu heureusement, il a abjuré ses folies. C'était un grand misérable ! Mais grâce a Dieu il a fait un très bonne fin.' Michelet, *Hist. de France, Renaissance*, p. 264.

[2] *L'anti-Martyrologe, ou vérité manifestée contre les Histoires des supposés Martyrs de la religion prétendue réformée, imprimées à Genève onze fois. Divisé en douze livres. Monstrant la différence des vrais Martyrs d'avec les faux corporellement exécutéz en divers lieux.* Par M. Jacques Severt, Docteur Théologal en la Faculté de Paris. Théologal en l'Église de

which has placed Dolet in the ranks of 'les grands hommes qui sont morts en plaisantant,' and which has since by its introduction into numerous books of anecdotes made at least the *name* of Dolet known to many who would otherwise never have heard of the man or his death. 'When Dolet,' says the Anti-Martyrologist, 'was at the place of execution he fancied that the people who stood around were regretting his death, then, instead of a prayer, he uttered this Latin verse, "Non dolet ipse Dolet, sed pia turba dolet;" [1] on which it was replied to him worthily by the criminal lieutenant sitting on horseback' (or, as the story is related in the *Patiniana*, by the doctor who accompanied him for the purpose of converting him), 'on the contrary, "Non pia turba dolet, sed Dolet ipse dolet."' [2]

The death of Dolet, grateful to and approved by the religious bigots of both parties, Protestant as well as Catholic, was mourned only by the few men of letters in whom the love of literature or the love of justice was not overpowered by religious bigotry or personal malevolence. It might be thought that personal animosity, where not inflamed by religious bigotry, would have been softened by his fate, but in one conspicuous instance this was not the case; the lapse of ten years had not induced Julius Cæsar Scaliger to forget or to forgive the wound which the young scholar of Toulouse had inflicted on his vanity by writing in defence of Longolius and Cicero, and scarcely

Lyon. Lyon, Rigaud, 1622, 4° (p. 475). I am particular in giving the title of this very rare book at length because I have nowhere seen the title accurately cited, and although in almost every book where Dolet is mentioned the story of the Latin verse made by him at his execution is related, I can find no writer except the anonymous author of the *Histoire abrégée des Martirs François* (Amsterdam, 1684) who has cited the story at first-hand or who has even seen Severt's book.

[1] 'Dolet himself does not grieve, but the pious crowd grieves.'

[2] 'The pious crowd does not grieve, but Dolet himself grieves.'

were the flames that consumed Dolet's body extinguished, ere Scaliger began to heap insults on his memory. Fifteen years later the wound still rankled in his bosom, and in his *Poetics* he seized an opportunity of indulging in brutal pleasantry on Dolet's fate and gloating over his sufferings :—

'Dum optimi atque maximi regis Francisci fata canit, ejus nomen suo malo fato functum est ; quodque tum illi, tum illius versibus debebatur solus passus est Atheos flammæ supplicium. Flamma tamen eum puriorem non effecit : ipse flammam potius effecit impuriorem.'[1]

It is pleasant to know that there were some men of letters who mourned Dolet's fate, and were not afraid to express their sympathy for him, and their grief for his loss. Theodore Beza, still young and sympathetic, whose heart had not yet been hardened to the texture of that of his great master, and for whom humanity and the Muses had not yet lost their charm, composed and did not fear to print an ode devoted to the apotheosis of the scholar and the poet :[2]

Ardentem medio rogo Doletum
Cernens Aonidum chorus sororum,
Charus ille diu chorus Doleto,
Totus ingemuit ; nec ulla prorsus
E sororibus est reperta cunctis,
Naïas nulla, Dryasve, Nereïsve,
Quæ non vel lachrymis suis, vel hausta
Fontis Pegasei studeret unda
Crudeles adeo domare flammas.

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[1] Page 305. This passage will be found translated *ante*, p. 216.

[2] This ode, printed by Theodore Beza in the first edition of his poems *Juvenilia*, Paris, 1548, p. 51, and reprinted in the edition s. l. aut a. (with the death's head), was omitted by its author in the editions he gave in 1569 and 1576, after he had fallen wholly under the spiritual dominion of Calvin. It has of course reappeared in the beautiful edition lately published by M. Liseux, with a French translation by M. Machard.

Et jam totus erat sepultus ignis,
Jam largo madidus Doletus imbre,
Exemptus poterat neci videri,
Quum cœlo intonuit severus alto
Divorum Pater, et velut perægre
Hoc tantum studium ferens sororum,
At cessate, ait, et novum colonum
Ne diutius invidete cœlo,
Cœlum sic meus Hercules petivit.

Another contemporary, whose name has not come down to us, has written with more sympathy and with more pathos the following epitaph in French :—[1]

Mort est Dolet, et par feu consommé.
Oh ! quel malheur ! oh ! que la perte est grande,
Mais quoy, en France on a accoustumé
Toujours donner à tel saint tel offrande.
Bref, mourir faut, car l'esprit ne demande,
Qu'issir du corps, et tost estre délivré,
Pour en répos ailleurs s'en aller vivre.
C'est ce qu'il dit, sur le point de brûler
Pendant en haut, tenant ses yeux en l'air.
'Va-t-en esprit droit au ciel pur et munde,
Et toy mon corps, au gré de vent voler,
Comme mon nom voloit parmy le monde.'

[1] Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, vol. i. p. 348 (edit. of 1731).

CHAPTER XXV

Opinions and Character

Τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν
τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν ; Euripides.

Atheism is the shadow of sacerdotalism.—T. P. Kirkman.

THE religious opinions of Étienne Dolet have been the subject of considerable discussion among his critics and biographers ; and much that is wholly false, much that is only partially true, has been written on the subject. Rejected alike by Catholics and Protestants, he has been generally regarded as an atheist, nor until the publication by M. Taillandier of the *Procès* from which I have so frequently quoted, was it at all clearly known what were the precise charges upon which he was condemned to death. That he was convicted and executed as a relapsed atheist was the received

view, and although this is not borne out by the language of the sentence, yet I incline to think that this was its effect and intention, and that the almost universal belief that he was a materialist, or (for the words were then and afterwards used as synonymous) an atheist was shared by his judges. Yet it sometimes served the purposes of Catholic controversialists to confuse him with the Protestants, so as to charge them with the blasphemies attributed to the unfortunate Dolet.

La Croix du Maine speaks of Dolet as burned for Calvinism. Jacques Severt in his *Anti-Martyrologe*, already cited, speaks of him as a Lutheran,[1] and Le Laboureur in his additions to the *Mémoires de Castelnau*[2] says that he is among the pretended martyrs commemorated in the *Grand Martyrologe* of Geneva; but, as Bayle first pointed out, no mention of or reference to Dolet is to be found in that book. Nor indeed have I found any Protestant work in which he is referred to as a Protestant martyr, earlier than the anonymous *Histoire Abrégée des Martirs François du Tems de la Reformation*,[3] the author of which simply adopts the statement of Severt. Le Laboureur quotes a letter of Cardinal Philibert Babou *dit de la Bourdaisiere*, written from Rome to Bernard Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, on the 23rd of May 1562, in which he speaks of having in his youth seen 'Dolet, one of the earliest Huguenots, who beginning by sufficiently thoughtless opinions, and these of little importance, fell in a short time into the most execrable blasphemies I ever heard.'[4]

Calvin, writing shortly after the death of Dolet,[5] says,

[1] His language is, 'Il catéchisoit sur dogmes adultérins et scandalizoit. . . . Il fut étranglé, puis brulé . . . sous le bruit et la qualité d'homme Luthérien.'

[2] Vol. i. p. 347.

[3] Amsterdam, 1684, p. 407.

[4] *Mém. de Castelnau*, vol. i. p. 347.

[5] *De Scandalis*, Geneva, Crespin, 1551, p. 78.

'It is a matter of common notoriety that Agrippa, Villanovanus, Dolet, and such-like *Cyclopes* have always ostentatiously despised the Gospel, and at length they have fallen into such a depth of insanity and fury, that not only have they vomited forth execrable blasphemies against the Son of God, but as regards the life of the soul have declared that it differs in no respect from that of dogs and pigs.' Du Verdier a few years later says that Dolet was 'convicted on a charge of atheism,'[1] and Dupreau (Prateolus) includes him in his list of atheists together with Diagoras, Pliny, Lucian, and Lucretius.[2]

We have seen that a rumour was current as early as 1535 that Dolet was a materialist, and denied the immortality of the soul. In the letter of Odonus to Gilbert Cousin written in that year, Dolet is classed among the atheists, his irreligious conduct is referred to, and he is spoken of as '*impius, sine deo, sine fide, sine religione ulla.*' And in one of the earliest pages of the first volume of the *Commentaries*, Dolet tells us that the Tolosans had calumniated him to the King in reference to religion, and seems to imply that it was on the occasion of the King's visit to the city (in August 1533) that this denunciation took place. We can hardly imagine that this was the case, yet it is a clear admission on his part of the existence of a rumour at a very early date unfavourable to his orthodoxy. This rumour was formulated in print by Floridus Sabinus in 1540, and undoubtedly was generally believed. It was probably based rather on the conversation

[1] *Prosopographie*, 4to Lugduni, 1572, p. 503 (by mistake numbered 4103). 'Dolet enfin avec son scavoir, estant poussé du diable fust convaincu d'acte d'atheisme et bruslé a Paris publiquement.' The portrait and all reference to Dolet are omitted in the edition of the *Prosopographie* of 1605.

[2] *De Vitis Sectis et Dogmatibus omnium Hæreticorum* (Cologne, 1581), p. 71.

than on the writings of Dolet, since it is not borne out by the general tenour of the latter, though there are not wanting passages, both in his poems and in his *Commentaries*, which would certainly afford corroborative evidence to those who wished to believe in the rumour.

In his *Lectiones Succisivæ*, Floridus speaks of Dolet as one who asserted the mortality of the soul, and placed the chief good in corporeal pleasures.[1] To this Dolet makes the following answer: 'You say Dolet does not believe that the soul survives the body. . . . You must prove this either from my writings or my life. Who can say that my language is other than pious, chaste, filled with reverence for God? As to my writings, what is there in the slightest degree to excite even the suspicion of impiety (for I call the opinion that the soul perishes, impiety). And the life which I lead is it not truly Christian? . . . It most clearly appears from my writings how far I am from this opinion: I here quote the verses on the subject of the immortality of the soul which I inserted in my *Genethliacum*.' He then cites the passage part of which I have before quoted, beginning, 'Tu ne crede, animos una cum corpore, lucis Privari usura.' And he follows it up with an appeal to those in whose intimacy he lived, whether his life was not such as a Christian's should be.[2] In his work *Adversus calumnias Doleti*, Floridus thus replies to Dolet's defence: 'The opinion of your impiety, which is everywhere held, cannot be got rid of by any extracts from your *Genethliacum*, for I hold this to be certain, that what you believe concerning God and the soul you would speak of cautiously and not openly to all, lest you should be immediately seized and put to the torture.'

[1] 'Qui inquam, unicus Aristippi germanus, animam mortalem esse, ac summum bonum in corporis voluptate consistere, non dubitat.' Lib. iii. c. 4.

[2] *Doleti Liber De imit. Cic. adv. Floridum Sabinum*, p. 41.

That Dolet was generally believed by his contemporaries to be, if not an atheist, at least a materialist, we have a good deal of contemporary evidence. The fact is referred to by J. C. Scaliger more than once, and their contemporary André Le Freux (Frusius) honours Dolet (whose name easily lent itself to the puns of his enemies) by devoting to him two of his epigrams against notorious heretics; one of them runs :—

> Mortales animas gaudebas dicere pridem ;
> Nunc immortales esse, Dolete, doles.[1]

In the copy of Dolet's *Francisci Valesii Fata* contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the following verses are written in a contemporary hand, signed *Binetus* :—[2]

> Qui modo Francisci descripsit Fata Doletus,
> Non sua prospexit fata futura miser ;
> Debuit insequier Christum, nec vivere fato
> Atheus, et rapidis inde perire focis.

Gigas begins one of his epigrams :—

> Nate Dei verbum ridere dolende Dolete.

Now when we come to the writings of Dolet, one thing is certainly clear, not only is there nothing to justify the appellation of atheist, but there is everything to lead to the conclusion that Dolet was a sincere theist, fully recognising a divine being as the creator and ruler of the world. When, however, we desire to arrive at anything more definite than this, we are met by a considerable

[1] *Epigrammata in Hæreticos*, 1609, Nos. lxxxvi. lxxxvii.

[2] This was clearly Jehan Binet, a native of Beauvais, appointed professor in the College of Guyenne in Nov. 1533. See *Britanni Epistolæ*, *passim*, and Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, pp. 54, 118. The facsimile of his autograph given by M. Gaullieur (p. 60) exactly corresponds with the signature *Binetus* in the copy of the *Francisci Valesii Fata* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

difficulty, and by some inconsistencies in our author's writings. His ostentatious avowals of orthodoxy, and his odes to the Virgin, are not entirely conclusive. They do not strike the reader as proceeding from the writer's heart, but as being inserted rather as a matter of form than of actual belief. In the second volume of his *Commentaries*, under the word *Anima*, after some explanations and examples of its use by Cicero, he thus continues: 'Besides this signification, *Anima* is used to express a certain celestial force by which we live and move and are partakers of reason. Which some indeed attribute to the blood, and some to other parts of the body, and which some think is mortal and is extinguished at the same time with the body, but which others have asserted to be immortal, believing that after the destruction of the body, according as the life of the man has been right and pure, or wicked, the soul either ascends into heaven or descends into hell. These opinions concerning the mortality or immortality of the soul, as well as the various judgments of men concerning religion, and their different doctrines in reference to the worship of God, I have discussed in those books *De Opinione* which I have left to posterity in order that it may understand that I have passed my life as it becomes a man to do, and have not wasted it in a painful devotion to trifles.'

On the subject of the immortality of the soul, however, there can be little doubt that Dolet expressed his genuine sentiments when he declared in his reply to Sabinus, and in many of his poems and other writings, notably in the *Avant Naissance*, that it was impiety to deny it. Yet he seems to have been in considerable doubt, as must be the case with every one who does not accept as authoritative and final, what is laid down by the Church or what is stated in the New Testament, as to what he meant by

immortality. Whilst sometimes using language, which implies that he accepted the immortality of the soul in the orthodox and ordinary sense of the words, we gather from other expressions that he certainly doubted whether the individual soul had an independent existence after death, or whether it was not absorbed in the Creator or in the soul of the universe. In his earlier poems indeed, and particularly in his ode to the memory of Simon Villanovanus,[1] he seems to doubt whether consciousness exists after death, and in a melancholy poem in the same volume, *Expetendam esse mortem*, M. Boulmier conjectures that we find the phrase which originated the charge of atheism and materialism. It thus concludes[2] :—

Nunc ergo vitam quo insipiens cupis ?
Quo corpus optas omnibus obvium
Morbis, malisque ? Quo precare
Perpetuas tibi stulte pœnas ?

Ne mortis horre spicula, *quæ dabit*
Sensu carere ; vel melioribus
Locis tegi, et statu esse læto,
Elysii est nisi spes inanis.[3]

The note which he gives in the second volume of his *Commentaries* on the word *Mors* perhaps lets us see his real sentiments more clearly than any other passage of his writings. 'I now come to the subject of death, the extreme boundary of life, terrible to those who are about to die, but

[1] *Ante*, p. 34. [2] *Orat. duæ*, p. 224.

[3] 'Now therefore why, O senseless one, do you desire life, why do you wish your body to be exposed to all diseases and to all evils ? Why, O fool, do you pray that your sufferings may be perpetual ? Do not be terrified by the arrows of death, which will cause you either to be deprived of sensation, or else to be sheltered in happier regions and to be in a joyful condition, unless the hope of heaven is vain.' See also *ante*, pp. 390, 391.

only an event to be laughed at by those who are immortal, that is by those who are renowned either by military glory or by literary reputation. For by the separation of the soul from the body will he, to whom for all future time life after death has been gained by his reputation for excellence, think that he is about to be annihilated for ever? Is the dart of death terrible to heroes of this kind, when by the eternal fame and reputation of their name they have blunted it and deprived it of all force? That this is true of myself I do not hesitate here to testify. There is certainly nothing that could induce me more readily or courageously to devote myself either to arms or letters than the constant meditation upon and recollection of death. I do not say this from any desire to die before my time, for to do so would be contrary to the nature of man, but because I desire to conquer death, and whilst I live to pass my life so nobly and courageously, that I may achieve immortality either in arms or letters. Unless those who either expose themselves to the dangers of war, or pour out their life by their too great devotion to literature, were actuated by this desire, were borne up by this elevation of mind, do you think they would act as they do, so eagerly or so nobly? And indeed there can be no greater stimulus to noble-minded men to strive to attain an immortality of fame than the constant recollection, agreeable to those who are immortal, horrible to those who are mortal, that this life is to come to an end in so short a space of time. What indeed has death been able to accomplish as yet against Themistocles, Epaminondas, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Cæsar, Pompey, the Scipios, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias, Homer, Pindar, Aristophanes, Cicero, Sallust, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Ovid? The power of death is naught against men fenced about with such firm barriers of immortality. What again will death with all its rapacity and ferocity be able hereafter

to do against Budé, Longolius, Macrin, Maine, Maurice Scève, Richer, Hugues Salel, Bembo, Sadolet, Vida, Sannazar, Erasmus of Rotterdam, or Melanchthon? The works of men of such excellence, consecrated as they are to immortality, are clearly beyond the power of death, and will I am certain never perish, but rather the sharpness of death, and of time which tramples all things under its feet, will be blunted by their virtue. The consideration of death then causes fear only to those who are weak-minded, those who are courageous it makes still more so, and incites them more and more to undergo all kinds of labours and dangers.'[1]

The immortality to which Dolet really looked forward, and in which he was in his heart of hearts a believer, was metaphorical immortality only, such as that in which Horace believed, an immortality of fame.

> Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
> Vitabit Libitinam.

He believed that what he had written would live, and thus that the better part of him would descend to future ages and in that way be immortal, and where he speaks of immortality he certainly sometimes means this only. Sometimes again he doubts whether eternal happiness does not consist in eternal unconsciousness and eternal insensibility, whether, in short, *Nirvana* is not the highest good. Yet in other moods we find a belief in the actual existence of the individual soul after death set forth, and the providential government of the world insisted upon.

A belief in the immortality of the soul may, roughly speaking, rest upon one of three grounds, the authority of the Church, the authority of the New Testament, or the conclusions of reason. But those who reject the two former will rarely be induced to accept the latter as an

[1] 2 *Com.* 1162.

adequate basis for the belief, or for anything more than a vague hope. To every thinking man there must be excessive (I do not say insuperable) difficulties in accepting as authoritative on such a question the voice of the Church. The reformers with illogical ingenuity, rejecting the authority of the Church and yet desirous of maintaining the doctrines of the creeds, while they returned to a simpler faith and a purer practice, invented an ingenious though illogical theory, which has since found its symbol in the popular Protestant cry, '*The Bible and the Bible only*,' a shibboleth to which one would suppose it must be difficult for those who have not been accustomed to it from childhood, to frame their lips. Difficult it must be to understand what are the grounds except the authority of the Church on which the Canon of Scripture is arrived at, or on which the theory of plenary inspiration can be based ; to say why the epistles of Barnabas and Clement have not the same authority as those of Jude and James, and why the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are relegated to the Apocrypha, while the Song of Songs and the Book of Esther are enrolled in the Canonical books.

That the Church was infallible was believed neither by Dolet nor by most other thoughtful men of the time, but he could as little believe that Luther or Calvin was infallible, nor was he likely to appreciate the grounds upon which they asserted the plenary inspiration of Scripture in an entirely different sense from the inspiration of Augustine, of Jerome, or of Cicero. The religion which recommended itself to Dolet, as it seems almost inevitable for it to have done to all thinking men of that day who were equally unable to accept the authority of the Church or the arbitrary theories of the reformers, was natural religion, a religion of duty in relation to this world only, and troubling itself not at all with the future, as being a matter of which

nothing can be certainly known, and concerning which it is useless to reason or to speculate. 'Naturalistic religion,' says one of the ablest writers of our own day, speaking of a century and a half later,[1] 'may seem a very unsafe and comfortless halting-place to us, but to many who heard of religion only in connection with the Bull Unigenitus and Confessional certificates, with some act of intolerance and cruelty, with feeble discussions about grace and the five propositions, the naturalism which Shaftesbury taught in prose, and Pope versified, was like the dawn after the blindness of night.' And much more is this true of natural religion in the sixteenth century, when the acts of intolerance and cruelty were greater both in number and in kind than in the seventeenth. Dolet was neither a Protestant nor a Catholic; as M. Henri Martin remarks, 'philosophy alone has the right to claim on its side the illustrious victim of the Place Maubert, whom the reformation has denounced as impious by the voice of Calvin.'[2]

But while Dolet's religious opinions seem the natural outcome of the circumstances in which he was placed, yet all his sympathies were with the party of reform; and while questions of doctrine, and indeed theological questions generally, seem to have been wholly alien from his mind, he was not insensible either to the value of the New Testament or to the fact that the cause of the reformers was the cause of intellectual progress. However little interest we may feel in the dreary theological controversies which occupied not only the religious minds of the sixteenth century, but even those who in less theological times would have devoted themselves to the healthy business of life, in the precise method of justification, in such questions as whether the rule of faith and life is to be found exclusively

[1] John Morley, *Fortnightly Review*, 1875, p. 495.
[2] *Hist. de France*, 4me edit. vol. viii. p. 343.

in the sixty-eight books which the Protestant Churches generally have held to be alone canonical, or whether the living voice of the Church has a co-ordinate authority, whether prevenient grace or grace of congruity exist, nay, however it may seem to us that in many of the discussions the champions of Rome held the broader and more reasonable opinions, yet we can never forget that the cause of Protestantism was essentially the cause of intellectual progress and of freedom of thought. It was the cause of the development of reason, as the other was of its repression, of the retrogression of the intellect.

There were indeed then, as there have been since at all times, numerous Catholics who were better, and numerous Protestants who were worse than their respective creeds: Pierre Duchâtel, Michel de l'Hôpital, Cardinal Sadolet, and Thomas More, favourably contrast with Calvin, Carlstadt, Cranmer, and Somerset.

There may seem to a superficial observer little to choose between, on the one hand, Luther (with his incessant talk about justification by faith) and Calvin (with his predestination, his rigid Trinitarian orthodoxy, his personal infallibility, and his readiness to betray into the hands of the Inquisition those who ventured a hair's-breadth beyond the limits which he had laid down, and if need be to burn them himself); and on the other, Eck (with his defence of indulgences) and Clement VII. (with his time-serving worldliness and expediency), and Francis I. (with his mixture of piety and profligacy). If a tree is to be known by its fruits, we cannot deny that Sadolet was far in advance of Calvin in all the Christian graces and virtues, and that in the controversial epistles which passed between them a much truer spirit of Christianity appears in the letters of the Cardinal than in those of his great opponent. Nay, our sympathies are more in unison, our reason less shocked

with the arguments and doctrines of Sadolet, than with those of Calvin. And we are apt to lose sight of the fact, which cannot be too prominently put forward or too clearly remembered, that in the sixteenth century, whatever we may think of the dogmatic views of the reformers, Protestantism by the logic of its position, though unknowingly and sometimes unwillingly, permitted freedom of thought, and Catholicism deliberately and intentionally repressed it. The Catholic party was logically and consistently wrong; the Protestant party was illogically and inconsistently right. Freedom of judgment, of thought, was really the basis and standpoint of Protestantism, which yet in terms rejected it, or only admitted it reluctantly when driven by its Catholic adversaries from all other positions. Besides, the reformers, even Calvin the most dogmatic of all, had a sincere love and desire for the truth as such, and were only in error in thinking and positively asserting that the portion of truth which each had acquired for himself was the whole truth; thus each Church set up for itself canons of infallibility, little less odious and much more ridiculous than those of the Church of Rome. When Luther, having rejected transubstantiation, excommunicated all who could not accept the doctrine rather less reconcilable with common sense of consubstantiation, and pronounced the Zwinglian hypothesis no less heretical than the Roman, and when Calvin, though certainly unsound on the doctrine of the Trinity (if on this point the doctrine of the Churches of England and Rome is to be counted as orthodox), burnt Servetus for being a little more heretical than himself, they were utterly false to the principles which had alone entitled them to throw off so many of the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, and to separate from her communion; they had ceased to deserve the name of Reformers. Bossuet's history of the variations of the Protestant

Churches would have lost most of its force had each of those Churches been content to accept for its own guidance the measure of truth which it had acquired, without attempting in a ridiculous rivalry of its great opponent to uphold its own doctrines as the absolute and whole truth for all men and for all time, and without excommunicating with bitter hatred, and persecuting when it had the opportunity, those who went a hair's-breadth farther from, or halted a hair's-breadth nearer to, the Church of Rome.

That Dolet's friends were all on the side of reform is certain, that he admired the pure life and moral teaching of Lefèvre d'Étaples and Charles de Sainte Marthe, that he both read, admired, and desired to promote the reading of the New Testament is clear, but to say that he was a Christian, as the term was then used or accepted equally by Protestant and Catholic, would be undoubtedly to say what is not the fact. But we may ask, what was there to attract him in Christianity as displayed by its chief ministers and adherents, by Cardinal du Prat with his wealth and his avarice, by Cardinal de Tournon with his massacre of the Vaudois and his repression of everything like freedom of thought, by Noel Béda who considered Greek and Hebrew as in themselves heretical studies, by Pierre Lizet with his hands red with the blood of martyrs, by the most Christian King oscillating between devotion and debauchery, and by Calvin with his narrow and rigid system of doctrine and his persecuting spirit?

If the description which Lucretius gives us of religion is accurate, certainly all these may be called religious men, but if we are to take our idea of religion from the definition given by St. James, or from St. Paul's enumeration of the fruits of the Spirit, not one of these eminent persons possessed a spark of it, not one of them displayed a single one of those fruits, at least some of which we may expect

to find in every Christian man. Goodness attracted Dolet wherever it was to be found, whether in Sadolet, in Lefèvre d'Étaples, in Jean de Pins, or in Sainte Marthe; but moral goodness unaccompanied by orthodox sentiment was rejected as no sign of real Christianity, equally by the Reformers as by the Catholics.

We can hardly doubt the sincerity of the language with which in the *Genethliacum* Dolet recommends to his son the belief and trust in God as a sure support and consolation from the miseries of life. In the *Commentaries* he offers up this prayer :—

"Ye gods, the omnipotent rulers of all things, grant me this one, only this one piece of good fortune. The material goods of fortune, as fleeting and vain things, I deem not worthy of your care, nor do I for them seek to weary you by my prayers. But grant this to me, that my reputation, my safety, my life, may never depend on the sentence of a judge. If I can obtain this from you by my prayers, I shall think that I abound in all good things, that every good fortune which I could desire is heaped upon me, that my life has been surfeited with every pleasure. That I may obtain this I implore you with the same earnestness and sincerity with which I attribute to your goodness everything that I possess, with the same zeal with which I reverence your divine will, and with which I contemplate with admiration and awe your power.'[1]

It will hardly be believed that this prayer, so suitable to his circumstances, has been the source of vehement attacks. His use of the word *superi* instead of *deus* was made a charge against him, and by this he was said to have shown himself a heretic and a pagan; and the following is the remark which our English Jortin, generally so fair and liberal, but who was frightened by the terrible word Atheist,

[1] 2 *Com.* 1328.

makes upon it : 'The most charitable thing to be said for the author of such a prayer is, that he was mad : and probably it was the truth of the case. Perpetual application to study, continual quarrels, violent passions, poverty, a series of calamities, and infinite pride and vanity, had soured his temper, heated his blood, and shattered his brains.'[1] And a writer whom Jortin quotes[2] had previously remarked on the prayer, 'An ita precatur homo sanus, et non male sibi conscius, et Christianus ?'

But it is only from the accident of his condemnation and death that the religious opinions of Étienne Dolet have acquired any interest or have any significance.[3] For the theological discussions and parties of the time he really cared nothing, except so far as they affected the cause of literature, and the remark which a contemporary writer makes upon Dryden is equally (perhaps more strictly) applicable to him : 'A busy man of letters, who never seriously reflected upon such matters, but who amused himself as occasion offered with easy acquiescence in controversial dogmas, with the casual speculations of languid scepticism, or with laughing at both.'[4]

[1] *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 68.

[2] *Relat. Gotting.* vol. iii. fasc. 1, p. 101.

[3] I have so frequently had occasion to note the shortcomings of M. Boulmier's work that I am glad to be able to say that he seems to have fairly discussed and to have arrived at true conclusions as to Dolet's religious opinions. Any one who is interested in the matter will find the seventeenth chapter of his book worthy of attention.

[4] J. C. Collins, *Essays and Studies*, 1895. M. O. Douen, in two articles in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme* (separately issued under the title *Étienne Dolet ; ses opinions religieuses*, Paris, 1881), has endeavoured to show that my view of the religious opinions of Dolet is incorrect and has claimed him, if not as a martyr of Protestantism, at least as a "catholique biblique, à moitié réformé, animé de l'esprit nouveau, lequel délaissait paisiblement le culte des saints, les indulgences, la confession auriculaire, le carême, et posait pour règle de foi la

It is as a scholar and a man of letters that Dolet desired and ought to be judged by posterity, and in each of those characters, if we cannot place him among the two or three

parole sainte, oui, certes, il le fut, au moins dans ses dernières années, et c'est ce qui explique pourquoi il répète avec une assurance non feinte que l'impression de la Bible n'est pas un acte hérétique. Aux savants auteurs de *la France protestante* disant de lui : "Sa révolte se bornait à favoriser le schisme, en prêtant ses presses à la publication d'ouvrages mal sentant de la foi," Dolet aurait pu répondre avec un parfaite loyauté : La révolte, l'hérésie, sont, d'une part, en ceux qui annulent la parole divine par leurs traditions, et, d'autre part, en ceux qui déchirent outrageusement l'Église de Jésus-Christ.—La rébellion de Dolet et de ses pareils n'était donc qu'une demi-révolte, puisqu'elle excluait toute idée de schisme."

M. Douen appears to think that I have read neither the *Cato Christianus*, nor the prefaces to the several religious books, all of a Protestant tendency, printed by Dolet. I had, however, read them all before M. Douen's *étude* appeared, and since that time I have repeatedly re-read them, especially the *Cato Christianus*, one of the only two known copies of which is in my possession, and have very carefully weighed the arguments of M. Douen, but I am unable to think that the pious sentiments of which these prefaces are full, express the sincere opinions of Dolet except in so far as they show his sympathy with the reformers as favouring liberty of thought and the free circulation of the Scriptures so bitterly opposed by those in authority. M. Douen considers that in the latter part of his life, and in fact from the date of the publication of the *Cato Christianus* (at the latest in 1538) Dolet had entirely laid aside the opinions which had gained for him the reputation of an atheist, and had adopted those indicated in the above extract from M. Douen's work. I can only say that I find nothing to warrant this hypothesis. Nowhere in the writings of Dolet is to be found the slightest expression of regret for any of the opinions he had before expressed or had before held. From beginning to end he is the same ; he alters nothing, he retracts nothing. He is indeed surprised that anything he has written should be thought contrary to the faith, and desires wholly to submit himself to authority just as Pomponatius did more than twenty years earlier, and I am obliged to agree with the conclusions of the writer of the interesting (though very inaccurate) article on Dolet in the new edition of *La France Protestante* that he displayed to the end "l'esprit rationaliste qui l'inspirait quand, dix ans plus tôt, dans ses *Commentaires* de la langue latine, il portait toute son

foremost names of his contemporaries, he is certainly entitled to a high position. Though he may not have been that consummate master of Latin style that he fondly believed, and though he may have been wanting in critical acumen, yet he must be admitted to have been a sound Latin scholar as scholarship was then understood, possessed of much learning, of strong classical feeling, of unwearied industry, and of both the will and the power to make his learning available for the use and benefit of others. His *Com-*

adoration sur l'Être suprême et sur lui seul. . . . Sans doute Dolet employa les derniers temps de son activité littéraire à imprimer des livres protestants et à les recommander dans de pieuses préfaces, mais il pouvait favoriser la Réforme et la recommander parce qu'elle s'accordait beaucoup mieux que l'église catholique avec les libertés de l'esprit, et ne point en accepter les dogmes. En effet on a vu dans tout le cours du présent article, Dolet lui-même proteste contre cet enrôlement, en confessant son pur déisme." (In this article a number of M. Boulmier's errors are reproduced including the confusion of Jean de *Langeac* with Jean du *Bellay-Langey*.)

But though I cannot agree with the conclusions of M. Douen, I none the less thank him for the attention he has paid to my book, and I can assure my readers that they will find his articles well worthy of their attention.

In reference to the religious opinions of Dolet I may note that among the books of M. Leopold Double (No. 343 in the sale catalogue) was a volume of *Horæ* described as "à la reliure d'Étienne Dolet et qui porte sur les plats la devise qu'il avait adoptée : *Preservez-moi, Seigneur, des calomnies des hommes.*" A note of M. Paul Lacroix appended to the volume assumes that it had belonged to Étienne Dolet and that it was "un solennel témoin qui vient, pour ainsi dire, après trois siècles de doute et d'erreur, réhabiliter la mémoire du célèbre imprimeur condamné à mort, comme *athée relaps*." M. Lacroix further assumes that it proves that Dolet was "un bon chrétien, attaché à la foi, de ses pères, et surtout au culte de la Vierge, lisant ses Heures et pratiquant ses devoirs de piété avec autant de candeur qu'un digne chanoine." It is, of course, possible that the book may have belonged to Dolet though the fact of the device being stamped on it can hardly be admitted as conclusive proof, but assuming it to have been Dolet's, I fail to see that it affords any evidence of his religious opinions or as to his practice of "ses devoirs de piété."

mentaries were one of the most important contributions to Latin scholarship which France had as yet given. His *Formulæ*, his criticisms on Terence, and his translations, are all amongst the most meritorious works of their kind. That his Latin works are rhetorical rather than scientific, looking at form and not at substance, is only to say that they were the works of a scholar of the Renaissance, of a scholar of the first half of the sixteenth century. His Latin verse is neither better nor worse than that of most of his contemporaries,[1] and if he never rises to the height

[1] The judgment of Buchanan was very unfavourable, but it was rather the matter than the style that he censured. His two epigrams on Dolet are as follows :—

Carmina quod sensu careant, mirare Doleti?
Quando qui scripsit carmina, mente caret.

Verba Doletus habet (quis nescit?) splendida : verum
Splendida nil præter verba Doletus habet.

Pasquier is not more friendly ; he says of him

'Cui placuit nullus, nulli hunc placuisse necesse est.'

This is rather unkind, for the idea as well as the form of a long passage in Pasquier's *Recherches sur la France* (book vii. c. vi.) is clearly taken from the digression in Dolet's *Commentaries*, quoted *ante*, pp. 256-262. On the other hand, Macrin—the French Horace—classes him with Brice, Dampierre, Bourbon, and Voulté, and speaks of his verses in terms of high praise. The reader who desires to see more fully the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries will find a large collection of epigrams favourable and unfavourable to him in Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, vol. iii. pp. 10-113. None of his biographers have, however, noticed the bitter epigrams written against him by Gilbert Ducher, generally under the name of *Durus* (*Epigrammata*, Lugduni, 1538, pp. 12, 38, 96, 104, 105), by Simon Vallambert, under different transparent disguises (*Epigrammaton Somnia*, Lugduni, 1541, pp. 24, 28, 47, 48), by Antoine de Gouvea (*Epigrammata*, Lugduni, 1540, p. 16), by Cl. Rosselet (*Epigrammata*, Lugduni, 1536, p. 66), and by Jehan Gigas (*Sylvarum Libri*, Vitebergæ, 1540. This unpaged volume contains four epigrams against Dolet.) The author of the life of Dolet, in *Les Hommes illustres de l'Orléanais* (taken principally from the MS. of Dom Gerou preserved in the public library of Orléans) says that Muret was

of Vida or Sannazar, he at least does not fall to the level of Julius Cæsar Scaliger. That he sometimes admits false quantities is a fault which he shares with scholars and poets of much greater reputation.[1] Yet sometimes in his Latin, and still oftener in his French verse, notably in several of those quoted in the course of this book, he rises to a height of pathos, vigour, and imaginative power rarely if ever to be found among the poets of the day, which certainly induces us to believe that had he devoted to French verse the labour and pains which he gave to elaborating and polishing his Latin prose, he might have equalled any of his contemporaries, and surpassed all except Marot. Nor must his services to the French language be forgotten. He

among the intimate friends of Dolet, and speaks of him with *éloge* in his collection of Epigrams. I have not been able to find any reference to Dolet in the writings of Muret, nor anything to indicate that there was any acquaintance between the two men. Muret was only twenty years of age at the time of Dolet's death.

Besides the two poems of Charles de Sainte Marthe already quoted, his *Poésie Françoise* contains the following ode to Dolet :—

Démosthène vivant, qui n'eut oncque second,
Les Grecs eurent jadis éloquence entre mains.
Lui mort, au monde vint Cicéron le facond,
Lequel avecque soi la porta aux Romains.
Après luy, elle fut transportée aux Germains,
Ou toujours demoura tant qu'Erasme a eu vie ;
De la s'en retourna visiter l'Italie,
Et avoit prins manoir chez Bembe et Sadolet.
Mais depuis peu de temps leur a esté ravie
Et tout droit amenée en France par Dolet.

[1] Gray, usually one of the most correct and elegant writers of Latin verse, has the following lines :—

'Irasque, insidiasque et tacitum sub pectore vulnus.'
'Quin, uti nos oculis jam nunc juvat ire per arva.'
'Scilicet hæc partem tibi, Masinissa, triumphi.'
'Tempus ego certe memini felicia Pœnis.'

Salmasius notices mistakes of quantity in the poems of Milton, and neither Buchanan nor Beza is free from them, nor even from faults of grammar and construction. Joseph Scaliger twice (in the *Scaligerana*) remarks upon the Gallicisms of Beza.

was one of the few scholars of the day who did not despise his mother tongue, and who had formed a true conception of its importance, and of the method of treating it scientifically. His grammatical tracts and his translations afford us proofs of this, and add to the many other indications of what he might and probably would have done had a longer life been allowed to him. For in judging of his talents and abilities we must not forget that he had only attained the age of thirty-eight years at his death, and that the last four years of his life were almost wholly passed in prison. What would have been the reputation of Budé, of Calvin, or even of Erasmus had their lives terminated with their thirty-eighth year? But the man 'was greater than his books.' His books have fallen into a common oblivion with those of greater men. 'The books of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' says Mr. Pattison in his admirable *Life of Casaubon* (p. 434), 'have for us little more than an historical interest. They will be visited only by those curious inquirers who may wish to acquaint themselves with the history of learning. The biographical data will be of more interest than the philological matter.'

The books that Dolet did *not* write, but only planned, interest us even more than those he actually composed, since they help us to understand better the mind, the aspirations, the aims of the passionate Ciceronian. The history of opinions, the complete translation of Plato, the translation of the whole Bible, the *Orateur Françoys*, the history of his own times, the lives of the Kings of France after the manner of Suetonius, make us half admire the enthusiasm, half laugh at the conceit of the man who could imagine himself competent to undertake them, or who could believe that one life could be sufficient to accomplish them all, while his orations in his own defence in reference to the death of Compaing, and his defence

from the serious charges on which sentence of death was pronounced on him, and which he composed in the prisons of Lyons, could not fail to have been of the highest biographical interest. His enthusiastic love of learning and his intense belief in himself are his two strongest characteristics, and both contributed in no slight degree to his misfortunes.

It has been my endeavour in this book to show Dolet as he really was, and I have omitted neither the unfavourable criticisms of his contemporaries, both on his writings and on his disposition, nor the facts from which unfavourable conclusions may be drawn. When I first planned this work I had absolute faith in the panegyrists of Dolet. I believed, as it has been the fashion for a certain class of men of letters in France to represent, that he was a man of the noblest character, that his virtues and learning alone excited the hatred of the enemies of virtue and learning, and brought him to the Place Maubert. But the careful study of his own writings, and of contemporary authorities, has led me, however unwillingly, to the conclusion that his own faults of head, and I fear it must be added of heart, were, though not the principal, yet important co-operating causes of his misfortunes. Yet even with these drawbacks he remains a man possessed of many most admirable qualities, of high talent, an intense desire after knowledge for himself, and an equally intense desire of communicating it to others, a profound sympathy with every kind of intellectual progress, and a bitter hatred of ignorance, bigotry, superstition, and priestcraft.

In judging fairly of his character, and in weighing his merits and defects, I would ask that two facts be remembered in his favour, and due weight given to them. The first is, that with all these serious faults of temper and

temperament, which could not fail at once to make themselves seen, he yet excited the affection, the admiration, and the respect, and obtained and at least for a time retained the friendship of every man of learning and virtue with whom he came into personal contact. One who so easily acquired and so long enjoyed the friendship of men so different in station, in sentiments, and in disposition as Jean de Langeac, Simon Villanovanus, Jean de Pins, Arnoul Le Ferron, Jacques Bording, Gui de Breslay, Jean de Boyssone, Charles de Sainte Marthe, the two Scèves, Sebastian Gryphius, Nicolas Bérauld, Pierre Duchâtel, Jean Voulté, and last though not least, of Clément Marot and François Rabelais, must have been possessed of some excellent qualities of head and of heart.

The second fact is this, that with all the violence of Dolet's temper, with all the outrageous and abusive language in which he indulged towards his real and fancied enemies, no single word of unkindness was ever printed by him concerning any one of those with whom he had been on terms of friendship, but with whom, from whatever cause, he had quarrelled. Wherever the names of Rabelais, Marot, Voulté, Bourbon, or Sussanneau occur in his writings, he uses the language of affection and of admiration. It is possible that every mention of them was written by him before their estrangement, yet if so his silence ought to be allowed to tell strongly in his favour. It is from them, not from him, that we learn the existence of dissension. I have already expressed my opinion—though the evidence on the subject is very slight—that the probability is that in each case Dolet was in the wrong. But the fact that he made no complaint and used no unkind word, and that it is so much more easy for the injured than for the injurer to forgive, should be remembered in his favour, and will probably lead us to the conclusion that thoughtlessness and personal

vanity, rather than badness of heart, led to the conduct of which his friends complained.

It is not from a priest and a Barnabite that we should expect a perfectly fair and impartial opinion concerning one who was reported to be an atheist, but I do not know that there is much to complain of in the Abbé Nicéron's judgment (though only an imperfect one) on Dolet :—[1]

'Il fut outré en tout, aimé extrêmement des uns, haï des autres à la fureur : comblant les uns de loüanges, déchirant les autres sans pitié, toujours attaquant, toujours attaqué, scavant au-delà de son âge, s'appliquant sans relâche au travail, d'ailleurs orgueilleux, méprisant, vindicatif, et inquiet.'

[1] *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Hommes Illustres*, vol. xxi. p. 118.

CHAPTER XXVI

Claude Dolet

Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.
Scott.

O trace has hitherto been discovered of Dolet's widow or son Claude. The question, what became of them after his death, has often been put, but never answered. The diligence of Née de la Rochelle was able to discover the existence of only two persons of the same surname in the two centuries which followed the death of our hero—a certain *Leon* Dolet, advocate and *échevin* of Paris in 1603, and a *Jacques* Dolet, who filled the same characters in 1623; and M. Boulmier was unable to add any others to this meagre list. 'After the death of Dolet,' he writes, 'we completely lose the trace of his son Claude.' 'This young unfortunate,' says Née de la Rochelle, 'excites our compassion, and compels our tears. An innocent victim,

having bitterly to complain of the fury of the enemies of Dolet, what became of him after the death of his unfortunate father? Forced by a prejudice, which still exists, to conceal her misfortune, his mother perhaps sought an asylum far from the city which gave him birth, where they could live together in retirement, unknown, and sheltered from the persecutions of the devotees and too zealous defenders of the Catholic religion. Nevertheless it is certain that this child was lost for the literary world in which he had been destined to shine, or that he so completely concealed his name from the curiosity of the vulgar that no one has since spoken of his existence, or even of his death.'[1]

I believe that I am able partially to draw away the veil of mystery which has hitherto enveloped the after-life of Claude Dolet, and to give some indications both as to him and his descendants which, however, I must leave to others with greater opportunities than I possess, to follow up.

After repeated and lengthened searches in likely and unlikely quarters for persons bearing the name of Dolet, I at length discovered that at Troyes, the great seat of the paper manufacture in France, where the printers of Lyons obtained most of the paper for their impressions, and with which city the publication of an edition of the *Second Enfer* in 1544 (by Nicole Paris) proves that Dolet had intimate relations, and where, in fact, his final arrest took place, Claude Dolet was living as a flourishing citizen from 1570 to 1585. Among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale is a French translation of the *Ethics* of Aristotle made by Nicole Oresme.[2] The volume is a large quarto, written on vellum, in the handwriting of the

[1] *Vie de Dolet*, p. 63.

[2] See *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, par A. Paulin, Paris, vol. iv. p. 430, No. 7059. 551.

fifteenth century, and ornamented with numerous miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters, and on the last sheet is this inscription, '*Cest livre de Ethiques est de Messire Bertran de Beauvau. . . . et le acheta a Paris le XXIII^e^ jour de May l'an Mil CCCC. quarante sept.*' Then below follows, '*Et depuis a Claude Dolet qui demeure a Troyes et l'achepta le XXVII decembre M.V^c^ LXX au dict Troyes.*' Afterwards on the vellum page which is fastened to the binding is written, '*A Troyes Nicolas Vignier docteur en médecine* 1587.' Fifteen years after the date of Claude Dolet's inscription in the book (*i.e.* 1585), I find one of the same name an *échevin* of the city.[1] If as I conjecture this was the same person and was the son of Étienne Dolet, he would be thirty-one years of age when he purchased the manuscript of the *Ethics* and forty-seven when he was chosen an *échevin* of Troyes. The extreme rarity of the surname, the identity of the Christian name, the age of Claude Dolet, the connection of Étienne Dolet with Troyes, and lastly the hereditary literary taste displayed in the purchase of the beautiful and costly manuscript, seem to me to prove conclusively the identity of Claude Dolet, *échevin* of Troyes, with the son of Étienne Dolet. And if we are satisfied of this identity, we shall probably not be far wrong in concluding that it was from Troyes that Étienne Dolet brought his wife to Lyons, and that she retired to her native city and to her family there, when the sentence of the Parliament of Paris had deprived her of her husband.

Fourteen years after Claude Dolet had filled the office of *échevin*, I find the *Leon Dolet* mentioned by Née de la Rochelle, an advocate at Paris. He appears in Loisel's list

[1] Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topograph. Hist. de la Ville et du Diocèse de Troyes*, Troyes, 1783.

made in the year 1599,[1] and, according to the *Antiquités de Paris par Malingre* (1640, p. 690), he was chosen *échevin* of Paris on August 16, 1603. The next of the name whom I have found is the Jacques Dolet (also mentioned by Née de la Rochelle), who according to Malingre (p. 692) was an advocate, and was in 1623 *échevin* of Paris. In 1698 Paul Dolet and the widow of Michel Dolet, both of Sedan, were Protestant refugees at Cologne, and in 1704 the name of Jean Dolet of Pignan, Languedoc, occurs as that of a Protestant receiving assistance at Geneva.[2]

In the eighteenth century there lived a Dolet who on account of his Christian name is especially interesting to us. Claude Louis Dolet, '*religieux Bénédictin de la Reforme de Clugni*,' is mentioned by Le Long in his *Bibliothèque Historique* (1719) as the author of '*MS. Histoire, ou plutôt mémoires de la province de Nivernois.*' To the edition of Le Long given by Ferret de Fontette,[3] M. Parmentier, '*assesseur de la Maréchaussée du Nivernois*,' contributed the following note relative to Claude Louis Dolet : 'Ses MSS. ont été dispersés après sa mort, et il y en a quelques morceaux à S. Martin des Champs à Paris. Il avait bien amassé des matériaux mais il paraît qu'il n'avoit rien rédigé. J'ai vu de ses extraits en plusieurs endroits mais son histoire dont parloit le P. le Long n'est nulle part.'

In the *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* of Larousse (vol. vi.) I find an account of a Charles Dolet, an actor and theatrical manager, son of an officer of the mint, born at Paris in 1682, and who died in the same city in 1738. François Dolet was a printer at Boulogne-in 1781.[4] Lastly, there died in 1823 a certain Pierre Dolet, *Président d'étude*

[1] *Pasquier, ou Dialogue des Avocats du Parlement de Paris.*
[2] *La France Protestante*, 2nd edition.
[3] 1772. 4 vols. fol., vol. iii. p. 415, No. 35.570.
[4] Morand, *Essai sur les principales impressions Boulonais*, 1841.

de la petite communauté de St. Louis en l'Ile. His funeral oration was delivered by the Abbé de Rolleau, and afterwards printed by Garnier (8vo, 1823).

Searches in the Archives of Troyes, of the Faculty of Advocates of Paris, of the Benedictine order of Clugni, and in other official records would probably result in the discovery of the parentage of these persons. Much interest has of late years been shown by France in those of her children who shared in the revival of letters. This leads me to hope that the indications given in this chapter, which, however scanty or insufficient they may seem, have not been collected without much labour, will be followed up by some who, living in France, have facilities for researches of this kind which I do not possess. It is in the belief that, if this suggestion is carried out, it will appear that the persons mentioned were the descendants of the victim of the Place Maubert, and therefore not without interest to the few whom sympathy for an unfortunate scholar of the Renaissance may induce to follow a somewhat dull record to its close, that I venture, with these fragmentary notices, to conclude my story of the life and death of Étienne Dolet.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS

I

ACT OF ASSOCIATION of 10 July 1542, between DOLET and his WIFE, and HELAYN DULIN.

ARCHIVES OF LYONS.

[The omissions are of illegible words and passages.]

Personnellement estably honnorable personne M^tre^ Estienne Dolet, marchant imprimeur et libraire, citoyen de lion et de son autorité Loyse Giraud sa femme pour eulx et en leurs noms d'une part et honorable homme Helayn Dulin, demeurant au dit lion aussi pour luy et en son nom . . . . lesquels . . . . et iceux mariés Dolet l'un pour l'autre et chacun d'eux présent et pour le tout renonçans au bénéfice de démission d'actions ont fait et font entre eulx nouvelle compaignie oultre les deux compaignies cy-devant faictes, d'une presse d'imprimerie que les dits mariés Dolet ont promis et promettent tenir dans les premiers jours de septembre prochain venant soubs les memes actes . . . conventions et accords contenus es dites premiere et seconde compagnie . . . faictes et passées entreux dudit fait et train d'imprimerie la première le 24^e^ jour du moys de janvier lan mil cinq cens trente neuf et la seconde le dix huictième jour du moys d'aoust ensuyvant mil cinq cens quarante et ce pour le tems et terme de six ans entreux continuels et consequutifs commençant du d^t^ premier jour du moys de septembre prouchain veut mil cinq cens quarante deux et finissant le dit jour d'aoust que l'on comptera mil V^e^ quarante huict jusques auquel temps les dites parties par ces dites presentes ont continué et prorogé les . . . deux . . . premières com-

paignies à ce que toutes les dites troys compaignies viennent à finir en ung mesme jour, adjoustant toutefois à l'accord de cette presente compaignie les articles qui en suyvent savoir est que les dicts mariés Dolet baillent présentement gratis au dit Dulin ung livre de chacune sorte qu'ils ont imprimés en leurs deux presses depuis qu'ils commencèrent à lever la première presse et s'ils les ont imprimés derechef quils lui en baillent aussy ung de autant de foys qu'ils les auront imprimez, en déclarant au dit helayn quel nombre il y en aura imprimé et d'ici en avant, promettent faire le semblable de tous ceux quils imprimeront ou réimprimeront en toutes leurs presses, plus promettent semblablement que s'ils avaient imprimé ou imprimeront par cy après quelque livre ou livres qui fussent ou vinssent à estre reprins ou defendus . . . que iceux mariés Dolet prennent cella sur leur charge et en laisseront portant de les faire bons audit Dulin suyvant leurs dicts accords tout ainsi que s'ils etaient prins et auraient . . . sans ce que le dit helayn en soit chargé ou empesché . . . Et ce moyennant le prix et somme de quinze cens livres que le dit Dulin promet fournir aux dicts mariés Dolet pour son fonds dans cette présente compaignie sur laquelle somme de quinze cents livres les dits mariés Dolet ont confessé et confessent avoir eu et receu dudit Dulin cinq cents livres tant en cinquante escus d'or sol qu'ils ont cydevant receu . . . ils ont dit et confessent . . . quatre vingt sept livres dix sols qu'ils ont receus présentement en ducats doubles ducats ung demi escu dor sol en partie et tellement que des . . . cinq cents livres les susdicts mariés Dolet se sont tenus et tiennent pour contents et en ont quité et quitent le dit Dulin lequel Dulin a promis et promet leur fournir et délivrer les mil livres restans desdites quinze cents livres aux festes de Toussaint et de Pasques prouchains venant par égalle portion permettant les dites parties . . . et soubs leur serment et soubs obligations et ypothèque de tous leurs biens . . . avoir agréable tenir devoir tenir et accomplir des dites parties respectivement et en droyt soy tout le contenu en ces presentes sans jamais controvenir sur payne de tous arrests deppens dommaiges et interets soubmettans . . . à toutes cours royaux, senechaussées, officialité . . . Privilèges des foyres dudit lion voir de Champaigne . . . Donné à Lion en la maison d'habitation des dits mariés Dolet le lundi dixième jour de juillet l'an mil V^c^ quarante deux. Presents Claude Millet D^r^ en medecine et Guillaume Lamayne demeurants au dit Lion.

(*Signé*) COTEREAU.

[The first witness Claude Millet was a friend of Dolet to whom there is an epistle in the edition of *La Chirurgie de Paulus Ægineta* of 1540 (see Appendix B). The name of the other witness is unknown to me. "Cotereau" appears as the Notary in several Notarial Acts of the same epoch. He was probably a relation of Dolet's friend Claude Cottereau.]

II

DOCUMENTS relating to the Arrest of Dolet at Troyes in 1543, and his subsequent removal to the Conciergerie of Paris.

ARCHIVES NATIONALES.

Carton X^2 b 6.

A Nossgrs de Parlement

Suppl. humblement Jacques des Vaulx, messager ordine de Lyon comme dès le sept^{me} jour de Janvier M.V^{c}XLIII derr̄ passé en vertu de la comission émanée de la court led. suppl. ayt esté chargé par le lieuten̄. général de la seneschaucée dud. Lyon de amener prisonnier des prisons ordinaires dud. Lyon en la conciergerie du palais ung nomé Estienne Dolet imprimeur dud. Lyon lequel dès le VIII^e desd. mois et an seroit évadé des mains et puyssance dud. suppl. qui après plusieurs diligences et perquisitions par luy faictes pour le recouvrer tant ès pays dalemaigne, Suysse, Genefve, Bourgongne, Franche conté, Daulphiné, Languedoc que ailleurs en ce Royaulme lauroit finablement faict constituer prisonnier ès prisons de Troyes en Champaigne des quell. il auroit esté extraict avec led. suppl. Ses gens et aydes jusques au nombre de vingt homes et vingt chevaulx et rendu prisonnier en lad. conciergerie come appert par ce seront cy atach. le tout aux fraiz, despens et poursuicte dud. suppl.

Ce considéré, il vo. plaise comectre lun de vous nosd. srs. tel quil vous plaira po^r tauxer aud. suppl. ce voyage davoir amené ledit Dolet prisonnier des prisons de Lyon en lad. conciergerie tant po^r luy que po^r six personnes de cheval ses gens et aydes actendu la qualité dud. prisonnier Leu esgard aux grands fraictz que led. suppl. a faictz pour lamener dud. Troyes qui excedent plus de cent escuz.

Et de la somme quil vos plaira tauxer ordonner exécutoire estre délivré aud. suppl. contre le receveur des amendes de lad. court. Et vo ferez bien.

Visa captura et adductione dicti Dolet et habito juramento dicti Jacobi Desvaulx iterum qualitate temporis et captivis pro sex hominibus cum tribus et dicto captivo et pro redditu consortium dicti Desvaulx, habent centum quinquaginta libras parisienses. Actum XVIIa septembris millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto.

DEMONTMIREL.

Commictitur magister Stephanus de Montmirel, Regis consiliarius. Actum in parlamento, XVIa septembris Mo Vo Xliiiio.

Consentio pro Rege taxationem rationabilem fieri supplicanti habita ratione ad quantitatem tam equorum quam servientiarum pro qualitate temporis necessarii pro executione dicte capture. [B]lanchard.

J. BRULART ?

FRAIZ et MISES faictz par JAQUES Desvaulx, messaigier ordinaire de la ville de Lion, depuis la capture de me ESTIENNE DOLLET faicte es prisons de la ville de Troyes.

ET PREMIEREMENT

Habito juramento Jacobi Desvaulx, messagerii Lugdunensis scilicet xiiil x s.

Pour neuf postes prinses par ledit Desvaulx pour venir en ceste ville de Paris dudit lieu de Troies pour advertir messieurs de la court de ladicte capture et pour avoir commission d'icelle pour amener ledit Dolet dudit lieu de Troies en la consiergerie du palais, pour chacune desquelles postes a esté paié trente solz tournois. Pource pour les neuf

. . . . xiiil x s. tournois

s xviii s. t. Item aux postillons et guydes

xviii s. tourn.

s xxxvi s. t. Item pour le sejour faict par ledit Desvaulx en ceste ville de Paris par l'espace de trois jours à solliciter ladite commission

xxxvi s. tourn.

Habito juramento Jacobi Desvaulx, messagerii Lugdunensis et Petri Seguyneau, servientis palatii, qui affirmant solvisse pro quolibet homine viginti solidos turonenses et pro sex diebus viixx l. t.

Pour la despence par luy faicte de vingt hommes et vingt chevaulx tant pour aller que revenir depuis ceste ville jusques audit Troies.

Habito juramento iiil x s. t.

Item pour la despence faicte par ledit Dollet durant dix jours qu'il a demouré aux prisons dudit Troyes.

s. Pro quolibet caballo et pro sex diebus : s. xxx. l. t.

Item pour le louaige de vingt chevaulx

Habito juramento dicti messagerii, scilicet pro quolibet homine pro quolibet die vi s. t. pro xxti hominibus xxxvi l. t.

Item pour le sallaire de vingt hommes à cheval

Habito juramento pro quolibet homine sequente vii s. vi d. t.

Item pour six hommes de pied par luy prins pour luy faire aide depuis ladicte ville de Troies jusques à Sens

s. vi l. xv s.

Item pour l'expedition de ladicte commission x s. t.

s. x s. t.

Item pour le sejour faict tant par luy que par ses aides en ceste ville de Paris

A Paris les parties susdictes avons taxez à la somme de neufvingtz six livres trois solz six deniers parisis en regard au personnaige et qualité du temps. Faict par nous huissier soubscript, le xiiie jour de septembre mil vc quarante quattre. De Montmirel.

A Nosseigneurs de Parlement

Supplie humblement Pierre Seguinault, sergent royal au baillage du palais comme, en vertu de la commission de ladicte court et a la requeste de monsieur le procureur general du Roy et à la poursuicte et diligence de Jaques de Vaulx, messaigier ordinaire de Lyon, ledict suppliant ait amene de la ville de Troyes en la conciergerie du palais à Paris, luy acompaigné de vingt hommes et vingt chevaulx avec plusieurs personnes de pied, ung nommé Estienne Dolet, estant prisonnier audit Troyes, lequel Dolet n'a aucuns biens pour luy, satisfaire esdicts fraiz, ce consideré, il vous plaise commetre l'un de vous nosseigneurs tel qu'il vous plaira pour tauxer les fraiz, sallaires et vaccations dudit suppliant et de ses aides, et ordonnance executoire de ladite tauxe en estre delivrée audict suppliant à prendre sur le revenu des amendes de ladicte court. Et vous ferez bien.

Audito procuratore generali Regis [1]
magister Stephanus de Montmirel.

Regis consiliarius. Actum in parlamento, xiiia septembris m.vo xliiiito.

Consentio pro Rege taxationem rationabilem fieri supplicanti, habito respectu ad quantitatem tam equorum quam servientiarum que necessaria erat pro qualitate rei et temporis pro executione dicte capture.
J. Brulart ?
Blanchard.

La Court oy sur ce le procureur général du Roy et veu la taxe de certain conseillier dicelle à ce par elle commis A ordonné et ordonne, actendue la qualité de la p̄sone et du temps, à Nicolas Hardy recepveur des exploictz et amendes de ladicte court bailler, paier et délivrer

[1] Or *Regio*.

à Jaques des Vaulx messaigier ordinaire de la ville de Lion la somme de cent livres par. pour avoir amené des prisons de la ville de Troyes ès prisons de la Consiergerie du palais à Paris Estienne Dollet Imprimeur et libraire de ladicte ville de Lion.

xviie Septbre — St. André.
M.Vc XLIIII — Demotmirel.

Aujourd'huy maistre Estienne Dollet a esté amené prisonnier des prisons de Troyes et mys ès prisons de la conciergerie du palais par Pierre Seguyneault, sergent royal au bailliage du palais suyvant certaine ordonnance et commission de la Court dacteé du IIIIe jour de ce présent mois, signée Malon, obtenue à la requeste de Jaques Desvaulx, messaigier ordinaire de Lion, et de Monsieur le procureur général du Roy.

Faict le XIIe jour de Septembre, l'an mil cinq cens quarante et quatre — Butet.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Appendix contains as complete a list as I have been able to make of the books written, edited, or printed, by Étienne Dolet. The list given by M. Boulmier, the most nearly complete which had appeared when the first edition of this book was printed, contains (in addition to four books written by Dolet and printed by Gryphius) fifty-three books as printed by Dolet; the present list contains eighty-four, besides four of which he was the editor for other printers. To the books enumerated in the edition of 1880 I am able to add three of which I have since discovered the existence—but on the other hand I have satisfied myself that two of those which I had there mentioned are not the productions of the press of Dolet.

In each case in which I am able to refer to an existing copy I have done so; in all other cases the authority is given upon which the title of the book is inserted. Of the eighty-four books printed by Dolet I have seen and examined copies of sixty-five. Of each of these I print the complete title-page. Of ten of the remainder, I am able to refer to a copy now or lately existing, while nine have totally disappeared, and I have been able to discover no trace of any recently existing copy. Of these eighty-four volumes, copies of forty-five are in my own possession, the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses thirty-two, and the British Museum twenty-two.

The abbreviations, *Bib. Nat.*, *Brit. Mus.*, and *R. C. C.*, respectively after the description of any book, indicate that a copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, or in my own possession.

I further give lists of the reprints, if any, of each of the books written or edited by Dolet.

I

BOOKS WRITTEN BY DOLET AND PRINTED BY SEBASTIAN GRYPHIUS

1. **Stephani Doleti** Orationes Duæ in Tholosam. Eiusdem Epistolarum libri ii. Eiusdem Carminum libri ii. Ad eundem Epistolarum amicorum liber.

8vo. Italics. 256 pp. Sigs. ✲ two, a-p fours, q two. 8 pp. unnumbered, 246 pp. numbered. Last page, *Doletus, Durior est spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ conditio.*

No date or printer's name, but certainly printed by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons, between Aug. 13 and Oct. 15, 1534.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

2. **Stephani Doleti** Dialogus, De Imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum, pro Christophoro Longolio. [*Mark and motto of Gryphius.*] Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium. M.D.XXXV.

4to. Roman letters. 200 pp. Signatures a-z and A and B twos. Ends on p. 197, then 3 pp. unnumbered, two of these blank. Last page, mark of Gryphius.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

3. **Commentariorum** Linguæ Latinæ. Tomus primus. Stephano **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark and motto of Gryphius.*] Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium, 1536. Cum privilegio ad quadriennium. [*All within woodcut border. See ante*, pp. 251, 252.]

Folio. Italics. 912 pp. Signatures ✲, Aa Bb, C threes, D two, a-z, A-z, aa-zz, aaa threes, bbb fours. 56 preliminary pp. unnumbered. 854 pp. text, in double columns, numbered 1-1708. 1 p. blank. 1 p. mark of Gryphius.

Commentariorum Linguæ Latinæ. Tomus Secundus. Stephano **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark and motto of Gryphius.*] Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 1538. Cum privilegio ad quadriennium. [*In woodcut border.*]

Folio. Italics. 924 pp. Signatures ✲, aA-cc threes, dD four, A-z, aa-zz, AA-zz, AAA, BBB threes, ccc two. 64 preliminary pp. unnumbered; 858 pp. text, in double columns, numbered 1-1716. 2 pp. unnumbered; on the second, mark of Gryphius.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

Watt (*Bib. Brit.*) and other bibliographers are in error in stating that the Commentaries of Dolet were reprinted at London 1734, and at Leipsic 1749. The books cited as such reprints are editions of the Latin Dictionary of Robert Estienne. Monfalcon (*Manuel du Bib. et de l'Arch. Lyonnais*, Paris, 1857, p. liv) is equally in error in saying that Antoine Gryphius printed a second edition of the Commentaries of Dolet. They have never been reprinted.

An epitome of the first volume was printed at Basle with the mark of Lasius and Platter in 1537, the author of which styles himself *Jonas Philomusus*. An epitome of the second volume by a different author appeared in 1539 (Basileæ, Westheimer) and an epitome of the first volume by the author of that of the second, and altogether different from that of 1537, appeared in 1540. (Basileæ, Westhemerum et Winter.)

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

4. **Stephani Doleti** De re Navali. Liber ad Lazarum Bayfium. [*Mark and motto of Gryphius.*] Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium, 1537.

4to. Roman letters. 220 pp. Signatures A and B twos, C three, a-z and A twos. 28 pp. unnumbered. 1-189 text. 1 p. errata. 1 p. blank. 1 p. mark of Gryphius.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

This book has been reprinted by Gronovius in the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*, Lugd. Bat. 1697-1702, and Venice 1732-1737, vol. xi.

5. **Doleti** Carmina (see post, *Books printed by Dolet*).

II

BOOKS EDITED BY DOLET FOR DIFFERENT PRINTERS

1. **Recueil** de Vers Latins et Vulgaires de plusieurs poëtes Francoys composés sur le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin. [*Mark of Fr. Juste.*] M.D.XXXVI. On les vend a Lyon chez Francoys Juste pres nostre Dame de Confort.

4to. Roman letters. 40(?)pp. unnumbered. Signatures A and B fours, C twos. (Should not C have two more folios ?)

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

2. **M. Tullii** Ciceronis Orationes ex optimorum quorumque exemplarium collatione accuratissime castigatæ. Tomus Primus. [*Mark of Gryphius.*] Apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1536.

The second and third volumes have the same title only substituting *Secundus Tomus* and *Tertius Tomus*.

8vo [or small 4to?]. Italic letters. Vol. 1. 22+538+2 pp. Signatures ✲ four, ✲ ✲ two, a-z, A-L fours, except L three. Last page, mark of Gryphius. pp. 3-6. Preface purporting to be by Gryphius, but really by Dolet addressed to Cardinal du Bellay, followed by an ode of Dolet *Ad eundem* which is reprinted almost verbatim in the *Carmina Doleti*, but is there addressed to Francis I. Vol. 2. 509+3 pp. Signatures aa-zz, AA-II, fours. Last page, mark of Gryphius. Vol. 3. 491+1 pp. Signatures Aa-zz, aaa-hhh fours, except hhh three. Last page, mark of Gryphius.

R. C. C.—Brit. Mus. (imp.)

3. Le Courtisan de Messire **Baltazar de Castillon.** Nouvellement reveu et corrigé. [*Mark of Fr. Juste.*] Avec privilege royal pour trois ans. François Juste, M.D.XXXVIII.

8vo. Roman letters.

Each page is in a woodcut border. This volume is divided into three parts, each with a separate title-page, and pagination of folios. *Pt.* 1 (Books I and II), 292 pp. CXLVI folios irregularly numbered and full of mistakes: last, which should be CXLVI, is CXLII. Signatures a-r fours, s five. *Pt.* 2. Le tiers livre du Courtisan. [*Mark of Juste surrounded by motto, and two verses underneath.*] On les vend a Lyon ches Francoys Juste devant Nostre Dame de Confort, M.D.XXXVIII. 118 pp. Folios numbered I-LIX. *Pt.* 3. Le quart livre du Courtisan. 120 pp. Folios numbered I-LVIII. Signatures A-P. On rev. of folio 58, *Fin du quatriesme et dernier livre du Courtisan imprimé de nouveau. Lyon, par Francoys Juste, demeurant devant le grant porte Nostre Dame de Confort Lan* 1538. Then follow 4 pp. unnumbered.

Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

4. **Le Guydon** des Practiciens contenant tout le faict de practique côme l'on se doibt conduyre en exerceant icelle Premierement imprime avec son repertoire et avec les allegations des droictz. Et est divisé par plusieurs chapitres comme amplement apert. [*Mark of Gabiano.*] Avecques privilege pour six ans. M.D.XXXVIII. Il se vendent a Lyon en rue Merciere chez Scipion de Gabiano et freres.

8vo. Gothic letters. 856 pp. Signatures a-g fours, h five, a-v, A-Z, Aa fours, Bb five. 132 pp. unnumbered, CCCLXII folios numbered. On rev. of title; Estienne Dolet au lecteur salut.

Brit. Mus.

This seems to be the original edition of this book, which was frequently reprinted.

[**Le Theatre des bons engins auquel sont contenuz cent Emblemes** (par Guillaume de la Perriere). The first edition of this book (without date but about 1536) has been frequently attributed to the press of Dolet, and sometimes stated to have been edited by him, but for no other reason than that it bears at the end a device similar to one afterwards adopted by Dolet;—*Redime me a calumniis hominum.* Brit. Mus.]

III

BOOKS PRINTED BY DOLET[1]

M.D.XXXVIII.

1. **Stephani Doleti** Galli Aurelii Carminum Libri quatuor.

[1] This division includes all books *purporting* to issue from the press of Dolet. It is certain that the two first mentioned, and probable that some others, were not in fact printed by him.

[*Mark of Dolet with motto*, SCABRA ET IMPOLITA AD AMUSSIM DOLO ATQUE PERPOLIO.] Lugduni. Anno M.D.XXXVIII.

4to. Italic letters. 4 + 175 + 5 pp. Signature a three, b-y twos, z one.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.
The mark of Dolet on the title-page shows that he put it forth to the public as printed by him, but it is clear from the type and initial letters that it was in fact printed at the press of Sebastian Gryphius.

2. **Les** Œuvres de **Clement Marot** de Cahors, valet de chambre du Roy. Augmentées de deux Livres d'Epigrammes : Et d'ung grand nombre d'aultres Œuvres par cy devant non imprimées. Le tout songneusement par luy mesmes reveu et mieulx ordonné. [*Mark of Dolet with motto*, SCABRA etc.] A Lyon au Logis de Monsieur Dolet, M.D.XXXVIII. Avec privilege pour dix ans.

8vo. Gothic letters. 488 pp. Folios numbered I-XC, I-XCVI, I-XXXII, I-XXVI. Signatures a-l, A-M, Aa-Dd, A-C. Each of the four divisions has a separate title, with the mark of Dolet, which again appears on the last page.
Bib. Nat.
That this edition of Marot, though purporting to be, yet was not really printed by Dolet, is clear. It was probably printed by Gryphius.

3. **Cato Christianus.** Stephano **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark of Dolet with motto.*] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1538. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

8vo. Roman and Italic letters. 40 pp. Signatures A-B fours, C two. Rev. of title an ode by Dolet; pp. 3, 4, Dedication to Sadolet; 5, 6, Address ad Ludimagistros christianos; 7, two odes by A. Dumoulin and G. Durand; 8, Table of Contents, Decalogi expositio. Accessio ad præcepta legis, ex Christi doctrina. Christianæ et Apostolicæ persuasionis Symbolum cum ejusdem expositione. Precatio dominica et ejus interpretatio. Odæ, de laudibus Virginis Mariæ. At the end the mark of Dolet; underneath, *Durior est spectatæ virtutis, quam incognitæ conditio.*
R. C. C.—(Coste's and Didot's copy).

4. **Catonis** Disticha cum scholiis Erasmi. Nunc primum a Stephano Doleto emendata et quibusdam in locis fusiis explicata. Nonnulla huic opusculo attexta sequente pagina reperies. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

8vo. Roman and Italic letters. 112 pp. Signatures A-G. p. 2. Catonis Disticha Græce a Maximo Planude Latino versa. Apophthegmata Græciæ sapientum interprete Erasmo. Eadem per Ausonium cum scholiis Erasmi. Mimi Publiani cum ejusdem scholiis recogniti; pp. 3, 4, Stephanus Doletus Joanni Pellissoni Gymnasiarchæ Turnonensi (at the

end) Lugduni XII Cal. Octob. . . 1538. Last p. mark of Dolet; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

Roanne Library (Cat. No. 3281).

The special interest of this book in addition to its rarity, consists in the Greek translation of the Disticha which it includes.

M.D.XXXIX.

5. **Formulæ** Latinarum Locutionum Illustriorum. **Stephano Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. Prima pars conflatas ex nomine et verbo locutiones habet. Secunda significationem et constructionem verborum profert. Tertia usum particularum indeclinabilium demonstrat. [*Mark with motto*, SCABRA etc.] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

Folio. Roman and Italic letters. 204 pp. Signatures A-R threes. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

This book has been frequently reprinted :—

i. By Sturm with the *Connubium Adverbiorum* of H. Sussanneau, under the title Phrases et formulæ linguæ latinæ elegantiores cum præfatione Joan. Sturmii quibus adjecimus Connubium adverbiorum Ciceronianorum Hub. Sussannæi. Argentorati, Rihel. 1576, 1580, 1585, 1596, 1610.

ii. In 1606 Barezzi published at Venice an edition of the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* of Nizolius, incorporating therewith, with some slight alterations, the *Formulæ Latinarum Locutionum* of Dolet, but without any reference to Dolet's name, and stating both on the title-page and in the preface that the *Formulæ* were by Nizolius : this was repeated in the edition given by Bernard Junta at Venice in 1607, and probably in other editions printed during the seventeenth century. In 1734 Facciolati restored the *Formulæ* to their true author, in the edition which he gave of Nizolius under the following title : Lexicon Ciceronianum Marii Nizolii ex recensione Alexandri Scoti. Nunc crebis locis refectum et inculcatum. Accedunt Phrases et Formulæ Linguæ Latinæ ex Commentariis Stephani Doleti. Patavii, M.D.CCXXXIV. Facciolati has prefixed a preface of his own composition, has omitted some examples given by Dolet, adding others, and giving also the references to the passages cited. Reprinted with the *Lexicon Nizolianum*, London, 1820, 3 vols. 8vo.

iii. In 1753, and again in 1764, Bandiera printed the *Phrases et Formulæ* of Dolet at the end of his volume, Osservazioni su le epistole di Marco Tullio Cicerone a famigliari. Venezia, Bettinelli. (See as to these volumes and the curious printer's errors therein, *ante*, p. 270, note 1.)

6. **Genethliacum** Claudii Doleti Stephani Doleti Filii. Liber vitæ communi in primis utilis et necessarius. Autore patre. [*Mark with motto*, SCABRA etc.] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

4to. Italic letters. 24 pp. Signatures A-C.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat. (two copies).—Brit. Mus.

Of the two copies of this book in the Bib. Nat., each with the date 1539, I have already remarked that one is interleaved, and have quoted the additional verses contained therein (*ante*, pp. 350-52). This copy was clearly prepared for a new edition, and probably formed the basis of the reprint given by Dolet in the following year. The *Genethliacum* was again reprinted by Techener in 1830 with other tracts of Dolet, preceded by the *Réhabilitation* of M. Aimé Martin. A hundred and twenty copies only of each tract were printed. The *Genethliacum* is intended to be an exact reprint of the edition of 1539 (it is clear that neither the interleaved copy, nor the edition of 1540, was known to either the printer or editor). Apparently by an error, the reprint omits the ode of Janus Guttanus which immediately precedes the *Xenia* of Maurice Scève. The marginal notes to the original edition are also omitted in the reprint. In other respects, the impression given by Techener is an exact copy of the original edition of 1539.

7. **L'Avant Naissance** de Claude Dolet, filz de Estienne Dolet : premierement composée en Latin par le pere, et maintenant par ung sien amy, traduicte en langue Francoyse. Œuvre tres utile et necessaire a la vie commune ; contenant comme l'homme se doibt gouverner en ce monde. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon chés Estienne Dolet, M.D.XXXIX. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

4to. Roman letters. 32 pp. Signatures A-D. Last page mark ; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.
Reprinted by Techener in 1830. 120 copies only.

8. **Francisci Valesii** Gallorum Regis Fata. Ubi rem omnem celebriorem a Gallis gestam nosces, ab anno Christo M.D.XIII. usque ad annum ineuntem M.D.XXXIX. Stephano **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni. Anno M.D.XXXIX. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

4to. Italic letters. 80 pp. Signatures A-K. Last page mark ; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

9. **Claudii Coteræi** Turonensis jurisconsulti clarissimi, De jure, et privilegiis militum libri tres. Ad hæc de officio Imperatoris liber non magis ipsi Imperatori quam cuivis alii communis prudentiæ studioso utilis. Cum singulorum capitum, vocum et rerum Indice luculentissimo. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1539. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

Folio. Roman letters. 268 pp. Signatures ✲ four, A-X threes. 16 preliminary pp. unnumbered, 250 pp. numbered, 1 p. blank ; last page mark of Dolet ; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

Contains a dedication and ode from Dolet to Cardinal du Bellay.

This book has been twice reprinted, first in vol. xii. of the great collection *Tractatus universi juris*, Venetiis, Ziletus, 1583-86, 29 vols. royal folio (Brit. Mus.); and secondly, '*recensente Joachimo Cluten, Argent. apud Jo. Carol.* 1610. 8vo.' Draudius, *Bibl. Classica*, Francfort, 1625, and *Bibl. Hulsiana*, vol. iv., No. 3020. A French translation was made by Gabriel du Preau, and printed under the title of *Le devoir d'un capitaine et chef de Guerre. Aussi du combat en camp cloz ou duel le tout faict Latin par Claude Cotereau, et mis en langue Francoyse par Gabriel du Preau*, Poictiers, a l'enseigne du Pelican, 1549, small 4to. (Brunet). Cl. Cottereau was also the author of a translation of Columella.

La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier make two persons of Claude Cottereau, the one *Claude Cotereau* translator of Columella, the other *Claude of Touraine* the friend of Dolet, and translator into French of the *Genethliacum*. Neither Rigoley de Juvigny nor La Monnoye has noticed this error, nor do any of these writers seem aware of the existence of the book *De jure militum*.

M.D.XL.

10. **Stephani Doleti** Galli Aurelii Liber. De imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Floridum Sabinum. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni apud eundem Doletum, 1540. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

4to. Roman letters. 56 pp. Signatures A-G. Last page unnumbered, mark; underneath, *Doletus. Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

11. **Genethliacum** Claudii Doleti Stephani Doleti Filii Liber vitæ communi in primis utilis et necessarius. Autore patre. Lugduni, apud Doletum, 1540.

Cat. de Boze, 1054.—Heber, pt. 1. 2261—Yemeniz, 1533.—Catalogue des Livres de M. De la Roche la Carelle. Potier, 1859; 131.

12. **Observationes** in Terentii Comœdias nempe Andriam et item Eunuchum. Steph. **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1540. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

8vo. 1-6 pp. Last page, mark; underneath. *Doletus. Durior*, etc.

Public Library of Berne.

A second edition was given by Dolet in 1543. The observations of Dolet have been frequently reprinted. They are included in the following editions of Terence:—

P. **Terentii** Afri Poetæ Lepidissimi comœdiæ. Parisiis, apud Joannem de Roigny, 1552. Folio. (R. C. C.)

P. **Terentii** Afri Poetæ Lepidissimi comœdiæ omnes cum absolutis commentariis . . . Stephani Doleti in Andriam et Eunuchum . . . Venetiis, apud Bartholomæum Cæsanum. Anno M.D.LIII. Folio. (R. C. C. This edition, including the Observationes of Dolet, was five times reprinted at Venice:—*Bonellus*, 1558, and 1561, (R. C. C.); *Cæsanus*, 1562; *Hi. Scotus*, 1561. and 1563.

Terentius in quem triplex edita est P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis Commentatio. Lugduni, apud Mathiam Bonhome, M.D.LX. 4to. (R. C. C.)
Many of the observations again reappear in the *Variorum* editions.

13. **Publii Terentii** Afri quæ extant Comœdiæ. Nunc primum a Steph. **Doleto** recognitæ et emendatæ, atque scholiis illustratæ: idque præter Erasmi, Melanchthonis, et Rivii animadversionem, [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1540.

8vo. Italic letters. 368 pp. Signatures a-z. Rev. of title, Judicium Doleti de comparatione Terentii et Plauti; pp. 3, 4, Steph. Doletus Jacopo Bordingio amico singulari; pp. 364-366, Steph. Doletus Lectori.
Brit. Mus.—Bib. de l'Arsenal.

14. **M. Tullii Ciceronis** Epistolæ Familiares cum argumentis scholiis et Græcorum interpretatione. Nunc primum a Stephano **Doleto** quam castigatissime recognitæ et iis ipsis scholiis illustratæ. Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1540. 8vo.

Orellius, *Ciceronis Opera*, Turici, 1836. Vol. 6 (*Onomasticon Tullianum*), p. 286.
MacCarthy, 2319.

15. **M. T. Ciceronis** Libri tres de Officiis. Item de Amicitia, de Senectute, Paradoxa et de Somnio Scipionis, cum Des. Erasmi annotationibus, quibus accessit Græca Theod. Gazæ in librum de Senectute et Somnium Scipionis traductio. Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1540. 8vo.

Bordeaux Library (Cat. Sciences et Arts, No. 1284).

16. **Pub. Vergilii** Maronis Opera. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1540.

8vo. Italic letters. 608 pp. (last two unnumbered). Signatures, a-z, A-P. Last page, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc. pp. 3, 4, Stephanus Doletus, Gulielmo Bigotio; pp. 458-606, the Supplement to Æneid by M. Vegius, and the minor poems attributed to Virgil including the *Priapeia*.
Brit. Mus.
In 1545 the following edition of Virgil was printed at Cologne:—
Vergilius P. Melancthonis scholiis . . . illustratus . . . Adjunximus . . . item in omnia Virgilii opera ex S. Doleti de lingua Latina commentariis annotatiunculas. M. Gymn. Coloniæ, 1545, 8vo.
Brit. Mus.
At the end of the volume is a long note referring to the annotations of Dolet, and written so much in his style that I cannot but think that the *Annotatiunculæ* must have been selected and the note written by him.

The *Annotatiunculæ* of Dolet (with the same note as a preface headed *Ludovicus Britannicus Lectori* and dated Brixiæ ex officina nostra anno 1546) also appears in two editions of Virgil given by Britannicus at Brescia in 1546 and 1548, and (according to Draudius) in those edited by Henri Estienne and printed by him s.a. (1575), 1583.

17. **De Duplici** Copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo Des. **Erasmo** Roterodamo Autore. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1540.

8vo. Italic letters. 360 pp. Signatures a-y fours. z two. pp. 3-346 numbered, 11 pp. Index, unnumbered. 2 pp. blank, 1 page mark of Dolet; underneath, *Deletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Brit. Mus.

18. **Alphabeticum latinum**, cum plerisque aliis ad Christianam juventutem pie sancteque instituendam apprime utilibus. Lugduni, Steph. Doletus; 1540, 8vo.

Chartres Library (Information of M. Buisson).

19. **Les Gestes** de Francoys de Valois Roy de France. Dedans lequel œuvre on peult congnoistre tout ce qui a esté faict par les Francoys depuis Lan mil cinq cents treize jusques en Lan mil cinq cents trente neuf. Premierement composé en Latin par Estienne **Dolet**: et apres par luy mesmes translaté en langue Francoyse. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon chés Estienne Dolet, M.D.XL. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

4to. Roman letters. 80 pp. Signatures A-K twos. Last page unnumbered, mark; underneath, *Deletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.
Reprinted by the author in 1543, carrying on the history to that year. Twice reprinted by others:—

1. Sommaire et recueil des Faictz et Gestes Du Roy Francoys premier de ce nom. Premierement composez en Latin par Estienne Dolet: et apres par luy mesmes translatez en langue Francoyse á Lyon. Imprimé ceste année mil cinq cens quarante et troise. At the end on p. 95, *Imprime nouuellement a Paris par Alain Lotrian.*
Bib. Nat.
This reprint appears to have been made on the edition of 1543.
2. Les faitz et gestes du Roy Frãcoys: premier de ce nõ . . . Composez par Estienne Dolet . . . La description dung enfant ne en forme de monstre aux basses Allemaignes. 8vo. Gothic letters. 6 pp. preliminary and 78 pages.
A copy of this reprint, coming from the collection of MM. Aimé-Martin and Coppinger, was sold at M. Firmin-Didot's sale in 1878 for 999 francs. In M. Didot's catalogue (No. 701) it is described as the only copy known, but a copy is in the Bib. Nat. and another in the public library of Berne.

20. **La maniere** de bien traduire d'une langue en autre. D'advantage, De la punctuation de la langue Francoyse. Plus Des accents d'ycelle. Le tout faict par Estienne **Dolet**, natif D'Orleans. [*Mark with motto.*] Lyon, Estienne Dolet, 1540.

4to. Roman letters. 40 pp. Signatures a-e twos. Reverse of title, *Au lecteur*; pp. 3-6, Dedication to Monseigneur de Langei; 7-10, *Estienne Dolet au peuple Francoys*; 11-16, *La Maniere de bien traduire*; 17-24, *De la punctuation*; 25-39, *Les accents*; 39, *Dixain de Saincte Marthe*. Last p. unnumbered, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

Bib. Nat.

Dolet reprinted this book in 1541, 1542, and 1543. It was also many times subsequently reprinted in the sixteenth century, sometimes separately, sometimes with other grammatical treatises, to which one or more of these three tracts were appended. The following are the reprints which I know :—

Traicte touchant le commun usage de l'escriture Francoise faict par Loys Meigret Lyonnois, 1545, Paris, Jeanne de Marnef. Italic letters. Pages not numbered. (Brit. Mus.)

Some copies have *Paris, Jean Longis et Vincent Sertenas*, 1545. (R. C. C.)

Although no mention of Dolet or his treatises appears on the title, they are inserted in the book, preceded by a preface explaining why the printer had inserted them.

La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre, D'avantage De la punctuation de la langue Francoyse. Plus Des accents d'ycelle. En Anvers par Jehan Loe. Gothic letter. Small 8vo (or 12mo). 40 pp. unnumbered. (Brit. Mus.)

An exact reprint of Dolet's book, except that the name of Dolet nowhere appears. It forms part of Le protocolle des secretaires et aultres gens desirant scavoir l'art et maniere de dicter en bon francois toutes lettres missives et epistres en prose nouvellement Imprimé. Avec la maniere de bien traduite (*sic*) dune Langue en oultre. En Anvers par Jehan Loe. The first part of the Protocolle has 152 pp., then follows : La Maniere.

La maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre, d'advantage, de la punctuation de la langue françoyse, plu sdes accents d'ycelle. Caen. Robert Macé, 1550. 8vo. 56 pp. (Bib. Mazarine.)

An exact reprint of Dolet's book.

Art Poetique Francois pour l'instruction des jeunes studieux et encor peu avancez en la poesie Francoise Avec le Quintil Horatian, sur la defense et illustration de la langue Francoise Reveu et Augmente. A Lyon par Jean Temporal, M.D.LVI. 16mo. (Brit. Mus.)

This book contains pp. 267-292, Dolet's two tracts upon punctuation and accents, but without any mention of his name, and they are also contained in the following reprints with the same title :—

Lyon, Thibault Payan. 1556. 16mo. (Bib. Arsenal.)

Paris, Ruelle. 1564. 16mo. (Brunet.)

Paris, Veuve Jean Ruelle. 1573. 16mo. (Bib. Nat.)

Lyon, B. Rigaud. 1576. 16mo. (R. C. C.—Bib. Arsenal.)

La Forme et Maniere de la Poinctuation et accents de la langue Françoise. Paris par Guillaume Thibaut Imprimeur et Estienne Denise, Libraire, 1556. 16mo. 32 pp. (Brit. Mus.) Reprinted with the same title, size, and number of pp. A Lyon par Jean Gros, 1557 (Brit. Mus.), and again by Regnault in 1560 (*Bull. du Bib.* 1860, p. 916).

Reprints of the two tracts of Dolet on punctuation and accents, but with no mention of his name.

Le stile et maniere de composer dicter et escrire tout sorte d'Epistre ou lettres missives . . . avec Epitome de la poinctuation et accents de la langue Francoise . . . A Lyon par Thibauld Payan, 1566. (Brit. Mus.)

pp. 294-319 contain Dolet's two tracts on punctuation and accents, but without any mention of his name.

La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre. D'advantage de la punctuation de la langue Francoyse, plus des Accents d'icelle. Autheur Estienne Dolet, natif d'Orleans. Lyon, Estienne Dolet, 1540, Techener 1830. 8vo. 48 pp.

Of this reprint, 120 copies only were given. There is no indication from what copy the reprint was taken, but it will be noticed that on the title-page, instead of the words *Le tout faict par Estienne Dolet*, which are in all the editions printed by Dolet, are the words *autheur Estienne Dolet*.

21. **La Chirurgie de Paulus Ægineta.** Qui est le sixiesme Livre de ses œuvres. Item ung Opuscule de Galien des Tumeurs contre nature. Plus ung Opuscule du dict Galien de la maniere de curer par abstraction de sang. Le tout traduict de Latin en Francoys par Maistre Pierre Tolet, Medecin de l'hospital de Lyon. [*Mark with motto.*] Chés Estienne Dolet. A Lyon, 1540. Avec privilege pour dix ans.

Small 8vo. Large round letters. 560 pp. Sig. A-z, Aa-Mm. pp. 3-11, *A Monsieur Squironis docteur Royal en l'université de Montpellier & Medecin de la Royne de Navarre, Maistre Pierre Tolet docteur en Medicine humble salut*, dated *A Lyon l'an des Mortelz rachetés par le sang et merite de la passion de Jesus Christ* M.D.XXXIX. *et du moys d'Aougst le xx*; pp. 12-16, *Proesme au chyrurgien Francoys*; 17-32, *Table*; 33-411, *La Chirurgie de Paulus Ægineta* (p. 240 is repeated); 412, 413, Epistle of Dolet to Claude Millet; 414-452, *Des tumeurs contre nature*; p. 453 blank; 454-546, *De l'evacuation du sang*; 547 blank and unnumbered; 548-556 (should be 557), *Petits traictes propres a la medecine, autheur Galien (Des sangsues. De revulsion. Des ventouses. De scarification.)*. 2 pp. blank. Last page mark in border; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

This is the earliest of the remarkable series of medical treatises in French, printed or at least *purporting* to be printed by Dolet in 1540, 1541 and 1542. (For the remarks of Rabelais upon this series see *ante*, p. 384.) Brunet erroneously describes the Opuscules of Galen as a separate and independent book (*Manuel*, tom. ii. col. 1451) as follows:—

'Livre de la curation par mission du sang, et par sangsues, revulsion, cornettes et scarification, mis en françois par maistre Pierre Tollet. Lyon, Est. Dolet, 1540, in 8°.'

The Ægineta and the tracts of Galen were separately printed by Dolet in 1542, but I am satisfied that he did not print them separately in 1540.

The whole book, including the Opuscules of Galen and the letter of Dolet to Claude Millet, was reprinted at Paris in 1541 by Les Angeliers (R. C. C.), and again by Jean de Tournes at Lyons in 1552. Brunet erroneously gives the date of the edition of Les Angeliers as 1540. Dolet's epistle to Claude Millet may be found in the *Revue du Lyonnais*, vol. vi. p. 455. The best account of Pierre Tolet is that given in M. Breghot du Lut's *Mélanges Biographiques et Littéraires pour servir a l'histoire de Lyon*, 1828, pp. 180-182.

M.D.XLI.

22. **Novum Testamentum** Latinum. Lugduni, Stephani Dolet, 1541.

2 vols. 16mo.

The only original authority I can find for the existence of this book is Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Antwerp, 1709), vol. i. p. 674; vol. ii. p. 474. He marks the book as having been seen by him, and refers to a copy in the library of Saint Germain des Prés. The notice of it in Maittaire, Née de la Rochelle, Masch, Nodier (*Bibl. Sacrée*), and elsewhere, seem all to be based on the statement of Le Long. His reference to it is so precise that it is difficult to suppose that he was in error, yet it is almost as difficult to suppose that it should so completely have disappeared that no other trace of its existence can be found, as it was not one of the books condemned, or ordered to be burnt. If a copy really existed in the library of Saint Germain des Prés it was no doubt burnt in the great fire which took place on the 19th of August, 1794, in which most of the printed books were destroyed. See Franklin, *Précis de l'histoire de la Bib. du Roi*, 2me edition, Paris, 1875, p. 270.

23. **Dominicæ** Precationis Explanatio. Cum quibusdam aliis quæ sequens indicabit pagella. [*Mark of Dolet with* SCABRA DOLO *on the axe.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

16mo. alternately Italic and round letters. 200 pp. unn. Signatures a-z, A, B. On the recto of the last leaf *Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum*, on the verso the mark of Dolet.

R. C. C.

On the reverse of the title is the table of contents :—Dominicæ precationis interpretatio; Meditatio in Psalmum Miserere mei Deus, Hieronymo Savonarola; Ejusdem in Psalmum In te Domine speravi; Idem in Psalmum Qui regis Israel intende; Decalogi Interpretatio per-brevis; Symboli Apostolici Exegesis paraphrastica; Paraphrasis orationis Dominicæ; Alia Dominicæ orationis Expositio.

The only writers who have mentioned this edition of Dolet are Née de la Rochelle and J. B. Riederer in his 'Nachrichten zur Kirchen Gelehrten und Buecher-Geschichte aus gedruckten und ungedruckten schriften gesammelt.' (4 vols.) Altdorf, 1763-1768. (Brit. Mus.) Vol. 4, pp. 227-232, contains an elaborate description of the book and its contents.

A reprint of a very popular devotional work frequently printed by S. Gryphius and others, and inserted in the *Index*. To the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer Riederer says that the initials P. M. (*Philip Melanchthon*) are affixed, but they do not appear in my copy. He also states that the short exposition which follows, and with which the book concludes, is also by Melanchthon. This would account for the work being put in the *Index*.

24. **Stephani Doleti** Galli Aurelii Liber unus De officio Legati, quem vulgô Ambassiatorem vocant. Et item alter De immunitate Legatorum. Et item alius De legationibus Joannis Langiachi, Episcopi Lemovicensis. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

4to. *De off. leg.* and *De immum. leg.* Roman letters; *De leg. Jc. Langiachi* Italic letters. 48 pp. Signatures a-f twos. Reverse of title blank. pp. 3-46 numbered (but the pagination full of mistakes). 1 p. blank, 1 p. mark in border; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

25. **Rhetoricorum** ad Herennium libri quatuor M. T. **Ciceroni** ascripti, doctiss. plurimorum judicio. Ejusdem De inventione libri II. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 274 + 14 pp. Signatures A-S. pp. 3-274 text. Then follows 2 pp. Steph. Doletus Lectori. 9 pp. Index. 1 p. blank. On the last leaf (missing in my copy) would be Dolet's mark.

R. C. C.

In Dolet's address to the Reader he attacks Floridus Sabinus and others who denied the Rhetorica to be the work of Cicero.

26. **C. Suetonii Tranquilli** XII. Cæsares. Ad veterum codicum spectatam, atque probatam fidem, summa virorum multorum doctissimorum diligentia recogniti: quorum quidem Elenchum proxima statim pagina reperies. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 560 pp. (528 numbered, followed by 32 unnumbered). Signatures a-z, A-M fours. On last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Brit. Mus.

This edition is stated by Boulmier (and others) to be '*faite d'apres celle de Gryphius* 1537.' This is an error, as a comparison of the two editions shows. The work is an independent edition made by Jean Raynier, who has added marginal observations and scholia which do not appear in the edit. of Gryphius of 1537. Besides Suetonius, with the preface and notes of Erasmus, it includes Egnatius *De Romanis Principibus* and his annotations upon Suetonius.

27. **Pandora. Jani Oliverii** Andium Hierophantæ. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

4to. Italic letters (except pp. 5-9 Roman). 52 pp. (50 numbered, 2 unnumbered). Signatures a-f twos, g one. pp. 3, 4, Preface by Dolet addressed to the Chancellor Fr. Olivier, the nephew of the author. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

28. **Gentiani Herveti** Aurelii quaedam opuscula. Quorum index proxima statim pagina sequetur. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Stephanum Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italics. 112 pp. Signatures A-G fours. On p. 110 a Latin ode, *Stephani Doleti carmen ad Lectorem*; last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Brit. Mus.

This volume contains only the orations and the translations from St. Basil. The *Antigone* and the *Epigrams* form a separate volume. (See next article.)

29. **Sophoclis** Antigone Tragœdia a **Gentiano Herveto** Aurelio traducta è Græco in Latinum. Ejusdem Herveti Epigrammata. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 72 pp. (last 16 by mistake numbered 67-82). Signatures A-D fours, E two. Last page mark in border; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Brit. Mus.—Bib. Mazarine.

An examination of this and the preceding article leads me to the conclusion that the second, the *Antigone*, was first printed as an independent work, and subsequently the volume containing the *Orationes* with the translation of St. Basil, and that to this latter volume was prefixed a title-page and contents applicable to the two volumes.

The epigrams are thirty-five in number, and include one addressed to Dolet himself. This is worth noting as coming from a man of the undoubted learning and orthodoxy of Gentian Hervet.

30. **Clenardi** Grammaticæ Institutiones Græcæ. Ejusdem item sequentia, Annotationes in nominum verborumque difficultates. Investigatio thematis in verbis anomalis, cum indice. Compendiosa et exacta syntaxeos ratio. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 160 pp. (last 6 pp. unnumbered). Signatures A-K fours. Reverse of title, *Stephani Doleti carmen.* On recto of last leaf, *Lugduni Excudebat Stephanus Doletus Gallus Aurelius*, 1541. On verso, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.

I find no mention anywhere and know no copies of this or the next article except my own. They are reprints of two of the most popular Greek school-books of the day.

31. **Clenardi** Meditationes Græcæ in artem Grammaticam. Eæ in eorum gratiam, qui viva præceptoris voce destituti sunt. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 144 pp. (last 3 unnumbered). Signatures a-i fours. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.

This book, though less popular than the *Institutiones*, went through numerous editions. It consists of the Epistle of St. Basil *De vita in solitudine agenda*, in Greek with a literal Latin translation by Clenard and a more elegant one by Budé, and a grammatical analysis of each sentence.

32. **Laurentii Vallæ** Elegantiæ latinæ linguæ. Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

Of the writers who have referred to this book, Maittaire (*Annales*, vol. iii. p. 95) appears to be the only one who ever saw a copy. He says that it is dedicated by Dolet to Jean Raynier, whose notes would seem to be appended to it. The dedication is dated *Lugduni, Calend. Decemb. anno* 1541. Maittaire states that this edition was reprinted in 1543 at Lyons by Guillaume Rouille. An edition of the *Elegantiæ* of Valla, with notes by Dolet and other savants, was given at Cologne by *Jean Gymnicus* in 1545, and reprinted by Fabricius at the same place in 1563. But the notes by Dolet printed in these editions are all extracts from Dolet's *Commentaries.*

33. **Tabulæ** Poeticæ **Joannis Murmellii** Ruremundensis. Pleraque alia, quæ hic liber habet, sequens statim pagina non obscure demon-

strabit, adjectis numeris, ubi quicque nullo negotio reperias. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. Italic letters. 48 pp. Signatures A, B, C fours. Last page mark of Dolet; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

A reprint of one of the most popular introductions to Latin verse composition of the day.

34. **Maturini Corderii** de corrupti serm. emendatione et Latine loquendi ratione liber; Lugduni apud Steph. Doletum, 1541.

8vo. 624 pp.

La France Protestante, 2nd edit. Art. Cordier.

35. **La Maniere** de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre. D'advantage. De la punctuation de la langue Francoyse. Plus. Des accent d'ycelle. Le tout faict par **Estienne Dolet**, natif d'Orleans. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Dolet mesme. M.D.XLI. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

4to. Roman letters. 40 pp. Signatures a-e twos.

R. C. C.

The second edition, and an exact reprint of that of 1540.

36. **L'Anatomie** des os du Corps Humain. Autheur Galien. Nouvellement traduicte de Latin en Francoys par monsieur maistre Jehan **Canappe**, Docteur en Medecine. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1541. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 48 pp. Signatures A-C fours. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

Reprinted at Lyons by Benoist Rigaud, 1588. According to the *Bull. du Bouquiniste*, 1878, p. 327, No. 2162, this book had already been printed in 1540 at Paris by Denys Janot. But I doubt whether the edition of Dolet was not the first. On the title-page he claims privilege for ten years, which he could not be entitled to if the book had previously appeared, and which in other such cases he did not claim.

This is the first of Canappe's translations of medical treatises which Dolet printed, and which was succeeded by several others. In or before 1539, translations of the third and of several other books of the Therapeutics of Galen had appeared, which are erroneously attributed to Dolet in the *Cat. des livres . . . de M. Filheul* (Paris, Dessain, 1779, 8vo), No. 631. A MS. note of Née de la Rochelle in M. Baudrier's copy of the *Vie de Dolet* gives the title of this translation of the third book as follows:—'Le troisieme livre de la Therapeutique, ou Methode curatoire de Claude Galien, prince des Medecins, auquel est singulierement traictee la cure des ulceres. On les vend a Lyon en Rue Merciere chez Guillaume de Quelques Libraire'; and he adds that behind the title is a letter of Dolet addressed to Canappe dated 2nd January 1539, and that at the end is '*Imprime a Lyon par Jehan Barbou*, 1539.' It was no doubt the letter of Dolet that gave rise to the error in the *Cat. Filheul.* I have found in the Bib. Nat. an imperfect copy of this book, unfortunately *without* the title-page, which besides the 3rd contains the 4th, 5th, 6th and 13th books of the Therapeutics, all printed by Barbou in 1539, and sold by Guillaume de

Quelques. With the volume is bound up *Le deuxiesme livre de Claude Galien intitulé l'art curatoire a Glaucon. On les vend a Lyon chez Guillaume de Quelques* (s. d., but last page is wanting). And *Le quatorzieme livre de la methode de Therapeutique de Claude Galien. Lugduni, apud Gulielmum de Quelques, anno M.D.XXXVIII.* (The volume is numbered T. e. $\frac{17}{11}$.) The 6th book contains two figures, the *Glottotomon*, *l'invention de Mᵉ. François Rabelais, docteur en Médecine*, the other the *syringotome*. The names of the translators of these books are not given, but the 4th and 5th are said to be *translaté par Philiatros*. An earlier edition of the translation of the 4th, and perhaps of the 5th and 6th books, is noticed in the *Bull. du Bib.*, 1858, p. 1298; the 4th, *Lyon, Fr. Juste*, 1537; the 5th, *Lyon, Pierre de Sancte Lucie*, s. a.; and the 6th, s. l. n. a. (No. 786, Yemeniz, seems to be a copy of the same). A note of M. Briquet appended states that the translations of the different books are by different hands. I should have thought the translator was Guillaume Chrestien, who about this time, besides other medical works, published several translations from Galen and Hippocrates; but I have found at the Bib. Nat. *Le second Livre de Claude Galien . . . mis en François par Guillaume Chrestien, medecin* (Paris), Chaudiere, 1549 (not mentioned in any of the lists of his works that I have seen), and it is an entirely different translation from that published by de Quelques, with which Chrestien does not appear to be acquainted. [According to the Supplement to Brunet (vol. ii. col. 374), 'Rabelais est incontestablement l'auteur de cette traduction. C'est lui-même qui s'est designé sous le nom de Philiatros.']

37. **Du mouvement** des muscles livres deux. Autheur Galien. Nouvellement traduict de latin en francoys par Monsieur maistre Jehan **Canappe**, Docteur en Medecine. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1541. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Italic letters. 88 pp. (last 5 unnumbered). Signatures A-E fours, F two. Last page mark of Dolet.

Bib. Nat. (imperfect, wanting pp. 65-80).

In the *Bull. du Bouquiniste*, 1878, p. 327, No. 2162, is *Du mouvement des muscles par Jehan Canappe*, 1541, 64 *ff. in* 8⁰ *caractères gothiques*. Whether this or the edition given by Dolet is the original I cannot say certainly, but as the Royal privilege is claimed by Dolet we may infer that his edition was the original. It was again reprinted *A Lyon, chez Sulpice Sabon pour Antoine Constantin* (Yemeniz, 784, where it is stated to be *sans date*). Brunet however gives the date as 1541. This is clearly wrong. The book is several years later. Brunet was misled by the date of the preface.

M.D.XLII.

38. **De** Comparanda Eloquentia Opusculum. **Francisco Revergato** Autore. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Stephanum Doletum, 1542.

8vo. Roman letters. 48 pp. Signatures A-C. pp. 3-9, *Francisci Revergati De comparanda Eloquentia ad Jacobum Bordingum et Claud. Baduellum Præfatio*; pp. 10-37, *De comparanda Eloquentia Dialogus*; pp. 37-47, *Franc. Revergati in conscribendis epistolis Exercitatio*. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

Bib. Nat.

I find no mention anywhere of this book. It appears from the preface that Revergat had lately been a student at Nîmes under Baduel, and that his preceptors there, especially *Frater Gulielmus* (possibly Guillaume Bigot, who was then a professor at Nîmes), had wished

him to give a course of lectures on eloquence (*i.e.* Latin composition), but that this had been prevented by the malice of his enemies, and that thereupon his friends had urged on him the composition of an essay on the subject. In the preface he refers to Dolet. The interlocutors in the *Dialogus* are the author and *Frater Guilelmus*. Dolet is referred to as one 'qui jam non minorem laudem in lingua Gallica videtur assecutus quam in Latina.' The epistles with which the volume ends are all written from Carpentras. All except the last are addressed simply '*Amico*.' In one the writer refers to '*Podianus consobrinus tuus*,' '*Jeannes Ribotus felix tuæ cognatus*.' '*Boyssonus familiaris meus*.' '*Nealkus gener tuus*.' In another, written apparently to Bording, he speaks of Baduel and Bigot. The last and longest is addressed to Baduel. In this he speaks of '*ea facultas vehementiaque dicendi qua in suo iambico utitur Doletus*.'

The only mention I have anywhere found of Revergat is a very uncomplimentary one. In 1544 he obtained the prize of the Eglantine at the Floral Games at Toulouse for his *Chant Royal*. It is thus referred to by M. du Mège (*Hist. des Instit. de Toulouse*, vol. 4, p. 308):— 'François Revergat qui obtint l'églantine est auteur d'un Chant Royal plus ridicule encore que celui de Forcadel. Il voulut représenter poétiquement *l'incarnation du verbe*, et il se servit des personnages de la fable. Dans son poème Jupiter est le Père éternel, Andromède la nature, et la Sainte Vierge est Danaé.'

39. **Libellus** de moribus in mensa servandis Joanne **Sulpitio** Verulano autore cum familiarissima et rudi juventuti aptissima elucidatione Gallico-latina Guil. **Durandi**. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Stephanum Doletum, 1542.

8vo. 56 pp.

I have been unable to find any copy or any notice of a copy of this book except that of M. Coste afterwards Didot's. The text of the tract of Sulpicius had been many times before printed, but this is the original edition of the translation of Guillaume Durand. It contains a dedication to Dolet, dated *Lugduni, Cal. Quintil.* 1542. It was frequently reprinted in the next thirty years. The following are the editions which I know or have seen noticed:—

1548. (T. Payen?). Lugduni, 8vo. (Pinelli, 10.209.)
1554. Claud. Marchant. Lugduni. (Draudius, p. 1187, *by mistake numbered* 1087.)
1555. C. Stephanus. Paris, 8vo. (R. C. C.; Yemeniz, 1215.)
1560. M. Menier. Paris, 8vo. (R. C. C.)
1563. G. Buon. Paris, 8vo. (Bib. Mazarine.)
1564. R. Stephanus. Paris, 8vo. (Renouard, *Annal. des Estienne*.)
1570. G. Buon. Paris, 8vo. (R. C. C.; Bib. Nat.)
1573. G. Buon. Paris, 8vo. (Roanne Library.)
1574. R. Stephanus. Paris, 8vo. (R. C. C.)
1577. G. Buon. Paris, 8vo. (Bib. Mazarine.)

Du Verdier notes an edition of T. Payen, Lyon, but gives no date. Of the above editions, the seven which I have seen have each the dedication to Dolet.

40. **Cl. Baduelli** Oratio Funebris in funere Floretæ Sarrasiæ Habita. Epitaphia nonnulla de eadem. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1542.

For a notice of this excessively rare tract, see *Claude Baduel et la Réforme des Études au XVI^e siècle par M. J. Gaufrès* (Paris, 1880, 8vo). The only other mention of it which I have found is in Haag (*La France Protestante*, art. Baduel). I only know the reprint

accompanied by a French translation given at Montpellier in 1829, a copy of which is in the Bib. Nat. and another in the public library at Montpellier.

M. Gundisy, the Public Librarian of Montpellier, has been so obliging as to inform me that the copy of the original from which the reprint was made was formerly in the Montcalm library, which was sold some years since. From the same source I learn that the translator was M. Saurine, then *juge d'instruction* at Montpellier, and that of the fifty copies printed nearly the whole were consumed in a fire which occurred at M. Saurine's house.

An older translation is mentioned by Du Verdier (art. *Ch. Rozel*), and the title is thus given in the Supplement to Brunet :—'Oraison funèbre sur le trespas de vertueuse dame, Dame Florete Sarrasie, premièrement faicte en latin par Claude Baduel, et depuis traduicte en langue Françoyse par Ch. Rozel. Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1546. pet. in 4, de 42 pp.

41. **De Antiquo** Statu Burgundiæ Liber. Per Gulielmum **Paradinum** virum eruditionis multæ atque judicii non vulgaris. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Stephanum Doletum, 1542. Cum privilegio Regio.

4to. Roman letters. 168 pp. (last 10 unnumbered). Signatures A-X twos. pp. 3, 4, dedication by Dolet, *Francisco Montelonæo Galliæ cancellario*, dated *Cal. Novemb.* 1542 ; pp. 3-158, text. 8 pp. index. 1 page blank. Last page mark in border ; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

This book was reprinted under the above title in 8vo at Basle, without printer's name or date (but about 1555). (R. C. C.) The reprint contains the preface of Dolet ; and several short tracts are appended.

42. **Le Nouveau** Testament imprimé par Dolet en françoys.

Our only knowledge of the existence of this book is from the mention of it in the Royal pardon of June, 1543 (*Procès d'Estienne Dolet*, p. 9), and in the several condemnations of which it was the subject. By the decree of the Parliament of Paris of the 14th of February 1543 (1544) it was ordered to be burnt (*Procès*, p. 30 ; also D'Argentré, *Col. Jud.* vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 133, 134, by whom however the decree is erroneously cited, several words being omitted, making it appear that only the *Sommaire du Nouveau Testament* was condemned). It is again inserted in the catalogue of books censured in the same year. Id. p. 135. It is there described as follows :—'36. Nouveau Testament imprimé a Lyon par Estienne Dolet. 37. Le contenu en cette seconde partie du Nouveau Testament.' It again appears in the catalogue of works censured in 1551 (Id. p. 174), and in the catalogue of the books condemned by the Inquisition at Toulouse in 1548 or 1549 printed by M. de Fréville in *La Police des Livres*, Paris, 1853, p. 16. No. 26 of this catalogue is as follows : —'Les nouveaux testamentz imprimez par *Dalet*, Christophorum de Rimondia, Joannem Lul ou aultres, plains d'erreurs et hérésies, ou bien dangereux de y induire.' *Dalet* is evidently a clerical error for *Dolet*.

It is probable that this New Testament was intended as an instalment of the Bible in small size, and that it was never actually finished or published, but was seized with Dolet's other books soon after his arrest in 1542, and was burned in the *parvis* of Nôtre Dame in the following February. This would account for the entire disappearance of the whole of the impression. A copy of an edition with the date 1539 is in the Bib. Ste. Geneviève, and a second copy in the British Museum, and is attributed by M. Dufour (*Catechisme Francais de Calvin*, p. CXXII) to the press of Dolet. But neither in size, paper, type, initial letters, nor in any single point does it bear the smallest resemblance to any one of the books printed or purporting to be printed by Dolet.

43. **Le Sommaire** du viel et nouveau Testament. Imprimé par Dolet.

This book is only known to us from the mention of it in the pardon of June 1543, where it is referred to as one of those for printing which Dolet had been condemned (*Procès*, p. 9), and in the decree of 14th February 1543 (1544), (*Procès*, p. 30, and D'Argentré, *Coll. Jud.* vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 134), by which it was ordered to be burned. As I do not find it referred to in any of the catalogues of heretical books cited in the note to the last article, I conjecture it was only in the course of printing when it was seized after Dolet's arrest in 1542, and was never actually completed or issued.

44. **Les Epistres** et Evangiles des cinquante & deux Dimenches de l'An Avecques briefves & tresutiles expositions d'ycelles. *Medallion of Jesus Christ holding the cross, with these words underneath in the medallion*, Si quis sitit veniat ad me et bibat. Joan. 7.] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avecq privileige du Roy.

16mo. Roman letters. 656 pp. Signatures a-z, A-S. p. 2, List of Les sermons ou exhortations contenues en ce present Traicté, oultre les cinquante et deux Dimenches de l'an; pp. 3, 4, preface by Dolet, beginning: *Estienne Dolet au lecteur Chrestien salut*; pp. 5-594, Les Epistres et Evangiles et les exhortations; pp. 595-655, Les sermons ou ehhortations (*sic*) de nouveau adjoustés. Last page, mark of Dolet; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy o Seigneur des calumnies des hommes.*

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

The copy of this book in the Bib. Nat. was lost for many years, and the copy which appeared in the Yemeniz catalogue, No. 58, at the sale could not be found. It afterwards fell into the possession of M. Renard, at whose sale I purchased it for 265 frs.

The epistle of Dolet *Au lecteur Chrestien* is dated *Lyon le iii. de May* 1542, and in it he promises '*rendre parfaict la Bible en petite forme dedans troys ou quatre moys et en grande forme dedans huit et desormais ne tiendra qu'en toy si tu n'as continuellement la parolle de Dieu devant les yeulx. La quelle tu doibs recepvoir en toute reverence comme la vraye nourriture de ton ame.*'

This book, the authorship of which is ascribed by La Croix du Maine, Du Verdier, and others to Dolet himself, is however, as first suggested by Née de la Rochelle, a reprint of the work of Le Fèvre d'Étaples first printed in 1523. Yet M. de Fréville (*La Police des Livres*, p. 18) asserts this to be a different book from that of Le Fèvre. But the translations in Dolet's book are certainly taken from Le Fèvre's translation of the New Testament. Besides what is announced on the title the book contains *Sermons ou Exhortations* for several festivals, beginning with one for the Nativity of our Lord.

45. **Psalmes** du Royal Prophete David. Fidelement traduicts de Latin en Francoys. Auxquelz est adiouxté son argument & sommaire a chascun particulierement. [*A small round woodcut, at the bottom David kneeling, his harp lying beside him; above, God the Father holding a scroll inscribed with the words Delevi peccatum tuum.*] Chés Estienne Dolet a Lyon, 1542. Avec privileige du Roy.

16mo or 32mo. Roman letters. 384 pp. Sig. A-Z, aa fours. (Paging full of mistakes, e.g. goes from 67 to 78). pp. 3-6, *Estienne Dolet au lecteur Chrestien*; 7-341, Translation of the Psalms divided into five books; 342-368, *Nous avons adiouste au livre des Psalmes les*

cantiques lequelz on chante journellement aux eglises; then follow, in French, the *Benedicite*, the *Confitebor* (from Isaiah xii.), the song of Hezekiah, the song of Hannah, the song of Moses, the song of Habakkuk, the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Te Deum*; 369-391, *Opuscule de Sainct Athanase sur les Psalmes de David. C'est asscavoir comme on les peult accommoder aux affaires humains. Opuscule premierement traduict de Grec en Latin par Politian et de Latin en Françoys par Estienne Dolet.* It ends (on page numbered 391) with *Tel est le style du Royal Prophete David; le tout a l'utilité des hommes.* 2 pp. blank. Last page mark of Dolet with the words SCABRA DOLO inscribed on the axe. Beneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Brit. Mus. (A copy was formerly in the Bib. Nat., but has been missing for some years.)

Graesse (*Trésor de Livres rares*, art. *Psalterium*, vol. v. p. 481) in his eagerness to point out the errors of Brunet erroneously says of this and the Paraphrase of Campensis next hereinafter described, 'Ces deux articles cités par M. Brunet ne font qu'un seul. Uniquement le format avait été indiqué differemment dans les deux catalogues de Heber et de Veinant.' Brunet is quite correct in distinguishing between the two books; a copy of each is in the British Museum, and they are entirely different.

46. **Paraphrase** c'est a dire claire et briefve interpretation sur les **Psalmes** de David. Item Aultre interpretation Paraphrastique sur l'ecclesiaste de Salomon. Le tout faict par **Campensis**. [*Mark with* SCABRA DOLO *on the axe.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo or 32mo. Roman letters. 448 pp. Sig. A-z, a-e fours. pp. 3-8, *Estienne Dolet au Lecteur Chrestien*; 9-403, *Psalmes de David paraphrases par Campensis*; 404-446, *Exposition paraphrastique sur l'ecclesiaste du sage Salomon selon la verite Hebraicque composée par Jehan Campensi & nouvellement translatée de Latin en Francoys.* 1 page blank. Last page mark (as on title); underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Brit. Mus.

This translation of the Paraphrase of Campensis had previously appeared (but without the preface of Dolet) in 1534, without indication of place or printer's name (Bib. Nat.). It was reprinted at Antwerp by Jehan Gymnick in 1556 with the preface of Dolet, but omitting all mention of his name. (An imperfect copy of this is in the Brit. Mus.) Another reprint (Antwerp, Jehan Steelsius, 1543) was in the Cailhava collection (Cat. No. 9), and is apparently the same that was sold at the Libri sale (1859).

Although the size and the type of this volume are the same as those of the last article, this is printed much more carefully, and has fewer errors of the press.

47. **L'Internelle Consolation.** Œuvre divisée en deux parties & nécessaire à tout esprit Chrétien. Imprimée à Lyon chez Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo. Roman letters. 382 pp. pp. 3, 4, Estienne Dolet au lecteur Chrétien; 5-364, Text of the *three* parts; 18 pp. unnumbered, the Table and two dixains of Dolet; last page, mark of Dolet, with SCABRA DOLO on the axe; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Bib. Nat.

I give the title of this book from Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque Francoise*, p. 779 (edit. of Rigoley de Juvigny, vol. iv. p. 562), for the only copy which I know, that of the Bib. Nat., wants the title. I believe it to be the same which was formerly in the possession of M. Haillet de Couronne, and afterwards fell into the hands of M. Barbier, who has given a long

account of it in his *Dissertation sur soixante traductions Françaises de l'imitation de Jésus-Christ* (Paris. 1812). pp. 119-121. and states that the following is the colophon :—

'"Ce present œuvre fut achevé d'imprimer à Lyon. l'an de grace mil cinq cents, quarante, et deux. chez Estienne Dolet. detenu pour lors aux prisons de Rouenne. et ce par l'ennuye, et calumnie d'aulcuns maistres imprimeurs (ou pour myeulx dire. barbouilleurs) et libraires dudict lieu. contre lesquelz il feit. estant prisonnier. les deux dixains qui s'ensuyvent."

Draudius in his *Bibliotheca Exotica* (1625). according to Barbier, places this book among the French works of Protestant theologians, and it has sometimes been ascribed to Dolet himself. It is however. as M. Barbier states. merely a reprint of the older translations of the *De Imitatione*. Although the book does not appear in any catalogue of books censured by the faculty of Paris. it is inserted (No. 50) in the catalogue of books censured by the Inquisition at Toulouse as *L'Internelle Consolation imprimée par Dolet*. (See *La Police des Livres au xvieme siècle* par E. de Fréville.) No doubt it would be the preface of Dolet or his dixains which gave occasion to the censure. for the orthodoxy of the book itself was never doubted.

48. **Le Chevalier** Chrestien. Premierement composé en Latin par **Erasme** : & depuis traduict en Françoys. [Similar medallion and inscription to that on the title-page of *Les Epistres et Evangiles*, *ante* No. 44.] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige du Roy, pour dix ans.

16mo. Roman letters. 348 pp. (last 2 unnumbered). Sigs. a-y. p. 2. Extraict du Privileige ; 3. 4, *Estienne Dolet au lecteur chrestien* (in which he says that *ce present œuvre a été regardé par quelques uns comme scandaleux ou illicite* ; 5-48, Dedication of Erasmus. The text begins on p. 49 and extends to p. 346. On the following page, *Cest œuvre fut imprimé l'an de grace Mil cinq cents quarente & deux. à Lyon chés Estienne Dolet. demeurant pour lors en la rue Merciere a l'enseigne de la Doleure d'or*. On the last page the mark of Dolet, with SCABRA DOLO on the axe ; underneath. *Dolet. Preserve moy*. etc.

R. C. C.

This translation is by Louis de Berquin. It had been originally printed by L'Empereur, Anvers. 1529 ; and another edition was given by J. de Tournes in 1542. (See for the different editions. Barbier. *Dict. des. Anonymes*. 3ieme edit. vol. ii. p. 102. and *Bull. du Bib.* 1860. p. 1210.)

49. **De vrai** moyen de bien et catholiquement se confesser. Opuscule faict premierement en Latin par **Erasme** ; et depuis traduict en Françoys. A Lyon, ches Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo.

Du Verdier cites this translation as mace by Dolet, and in the title in the Supplement to Brunet (the *Catal. des Foires de Francfort* being cited as the authority) the title is given as bearing these words. *Traduict du latin d'Erasme par Estienne Dolet*. Née de la Rochelle however does not think he was the translator. and implies that his name was not on the title-page as such. It seems doubtful. however. whether Née de la Rochelle had seen a copy. I can find no trace of the existence of one. In the pardon of June 1543 (*Procès*. p. 9), and in the decree of the parliament of 14th January 1543 (1544), (*Procès*. p. 30). it is referred to as one of the books printed by Dolet with *epitres liminaires excitatives a la lecture d'iceux*, which implies that he was not the translator. but only the author of the *epitre liminaire*.

50. **Exhortation** a la lecture des Sainctes Lettres : avec suffisante probation des Docteurs de l'Eglise, qu'il est licite, & necessaire, icelles

estre translatées en langue vulgaire : & mesmement en la Françoyse. [*Mark.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Roman letters. 132 pp. p. 2, Extraict du privileige ; on recto of last leaf *Imprime a Lyon par Estienne Dolet : pour lors demeurant en rue Merciere a l'enseigne de la Doloire, L'an de grace Mil cinq cents quarente & deux* ; on the verso, mark of Dolet.

This description is taken from that of Née de la Rochelle, corrected by one obligingly furnished me by M. A. Durel, through whose hands a copy had passed.

According to Née de la Rochelle (p. 122) this volume contains besides the *Exhortation*,— 1. Traicté monstrant comme on se doibt apprester a la lecture des Escriptures sainctes & ce qu'on y doibt chercher ; 2. Resolution d'une doubte sur ung passaige de la Saincte Escripture ; 3. Sermon de la Providence divine premierement faict en Grec par S. Jehan Chrysostome et maintenant translaté en Langue Françoyse. The whole is preceded by an epistle from Dolet to the *Lecteur Chrestien*. Née de la Rochelle shows clearly that Dolet was not the author of the book. A copy is in the catalogue of the Bib. Hohendorfiana (pt. iii. No. 253), (no doubt now in the Vienna Library), with the date by mistake 1552 instead of 1542. A reprint was given *A Lyon Par Balthasar Arnoullet*, 1544 (16mo, 48 pp.). (Bib. Arsenal.) Du Verdier cites an edition given by Arnoullet, Lyon, 1554 (probably an error for 1544).

51. **Brief discours** de la Republique françoys desirant la lecture des livres de la Saincte Escripture luy estre loisible en sa langue vulgaire. Le dict discours est en rime. Avec un petit traicté en prose monstrant comme on se doibt apprester a la lecture des Escriptures Sainctes, et ce qu'on y doibt chercher. A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. 16mo.

Every writer who has noticed this book, including La Croix du Maine, Du Verdier, Goujet, Nicéron, Née de la Rochelle, Brunet, Haag, and Boulmier, agrees in ascribing to it the date 1544. But it is plain that none of them except Du Verdier ever saw a copy, and the date rests solely upon his authority and that of La Croix du Maine. Now the book appears in the catalogue of books censured by the Faculty of Theology of Paris between December 25, 1542, and March 2, 1542 (1543 N.S.) (D'Argentré, t. ii. pt. 1, p. 135, No. 61, where these words are added, '*qui semble de Dolet, à cause qu'il a fait l'épître préliminaire.*') It must therefore have appeared before the last date, and probably in 1542. In order to escape this difficulty Brunet suggests that the edition of 1544 referred to by Du Verdier must have been a reprint of an earlier edition of 1542. This is no doubt possible, but it seems more probable that 1544 is an error for 1542 than that a second edition, which has disappeared as completely as the first, should have appeared in 1544. It again appears among the books of Dolet, but without date, in the catalogue of 1551 (D'Argentré, p. 174).

Brunet, who is followed by Boulmier, says that the *Exhortation à la lecture des Sainctes Lettres* (No 50) is printed at the end of the *Brief Discours*. They seem to have confused the *Exhortation* with the *Petit traicté en Prose* above mentioned, and which Née de la Rochelle tells us expressly is one of those appended also to the *Exhortation*.

52. Les prières et oraisons de la Bible, faictes par les sainctz peres et par les hommes et femmes illustres tant de l'Ancien que du Nouveau Testament. [*Mark with motto.*] Chés Estienne Dolet à Lyon, 1542.

16mo. Roman letters. 283 pp.

M. Douen (*Étienne Dolet; ses opinions religieuses*, Paris, 1881, p. 37) gives an account of this book from a copy in the possession of M. Gaiffe. See also Née de la Rochelle (p. 48), and the catalogue of books censured in 1551 (D'Argentré, t. ii. pt. 1, p. 107), where the date of Dolet's edition is not given, but where an edition of J. de Tournes of 1544 is cited.

53. **Livre de la Compaignie** des Penitens. Contenant l'ordre de recepvoir un Novice, matines de la Vierge Marie, l'office du Dimanche, lundy et jeudy, l'office du mardy et vendredy, l'office du mercredy et sabmedy, Prime, Sexte, Tierce, None, Vespres et Complie de nostre dame: Mutation de l'office de l'Advent: Psalmes des degrez: Psalmes Penitentiaux: L'offices des morts: les offices des Mercredy Jeudy et Vendredy sainct: Hymnes de l'annee: Commemoration des Dimenches & des Saincts. Lyon, Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo. Gothic letters.

Du Verdier (art. *Penitens*); *Procès*, pp. 9 and 30; D'Argentré, t. ii. pt. 1, pp. 133 and 134 (as *Les heures de la Compaignie des penitens*, and under that name ordered to be burned). In the Supplement to Brunet, cited from the *Cat. des Foires de Francfort* as *La compagnie des penitens*.

54. **La Fontaine** de Vye. Lyon, Dolet, 1542.

This book is mentioned among the '*Livres damnés et reprouvés*' printed by Dolet, with preliminary epistles made by him '*excitatives a la lecture d'iceux*' in the pardon of June 1543 (*Procès*, p. 9), and in the decree of the Parliament of February 14, 1543-4, ordered to be burned (*Procès*, p. 29; D'Argentré, t. ii. pt. 1, p. 133). It was several times reprinted.

The book is included in the catalogue of those censured by the Faculty of Theology of Paris, March 2, 1542-3, and by the Inquisition of Toulouse about 1549; but in a censure of certain books by the Faculty of Theology of Paris, May 25, 1542 (D'Argentré, t. ii. pt. 1, p. 232), the book is censured not on account of its own demerits, but on those of a tract printed at the end of it, 'Liber qui dicitur *La Fontaine de Vie* continet alium annexum impressum et eodem contextu ut non possit alter sine altero haberi: in quo secundo libro cujus titulus est *Introduction pour les enfans* habetur quædam Lutheri confessio . . . Ea Lutheri confessio scripta est in eo libello circa finem.'

I have been unable to meet with a copy of the Latin original *Fons Vitæ*, the first edition of which, according to Graesse (*Trésor de Livres rares*), was printed in 1533. A copy of an edition of 1538 is in *Cat. Bib. Thuanæ*.

55. **Les Epistres** Familiaires de Marc Tulle Cicero, pere d'eloquence Latine. Nouvellement traduictes de Latin en Francoys par **Estienne Dolet**, natif D'Orleans. Avec leurs sommaires et arguments pour plus grande intelligence d'ycelles. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Roman letters. 416 pp.; folios numbered 3-207 (2 and 3 each numbered 3), last folio unnumbered. Signatures a-z, A-c fours. Reverse of title, *Extraict du privileige*. 4 pp. preface, *Estienne Dolet au Lecteur*. Each of the sixteen books is preceded by an '*argument*,' and in the margin are the Latin words with which the epistle begins in the original, and in a few cases a note explanatory of the epistle. After the seventh book, on folios 140

and 141, is an Epistle of Dolet to the reader explaining why he omitted the eighth book (consisting wholly of the letters of Cœlius), and most of the other letters not written by Cicero himself. The translation of the sixteenth book ends on the verso of folio 207. Then follow two unnumbered pages; on the first, *Ce present Œuvre fut achevé d'imprimer le XXVIII. d'Apuril, 1542, a Lyon chés Estienne Dolet, pour lors demeurant en rue Merciere à l'enseigne de la Dolouere d'or. Lequel Dolet mesme a esté traducteur de ces Epistres familiaires de Cicero.* On last page, mark; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

This, by far the most popular of the works of Dolet, was reprinted at least twenty-eight times before the end of the sixteenth century, and five times in the seventeenth. Dolet only translated the letters written by Cicero, omitting many in the last books, and nearly all those written by his correspondents in reply. These were translated by Fr. de Belle Forest in 1561, and with the Latin text, added in most of the subsequent editions. The following is as complete a list as I have been able to make. Besides the twelve editions, copies of which are in my possession, I have seen all those that are in the Bib. Nat. and the libraries of Limoges, Orléans, Lyons, and Chatsworth. For the others I cite my authorities.

Reprints of Dolet's Translation alone of the *Epistres Familiaires.*

1542. Lyon, de Tournes. 12mo. (Née de la Rochelle quoting *Cat. MS. de la Bib. du Roi.*)
1542. Paris, P. Vidoue. (Brunet.)
1542. Paris, Jehan Longis (imprimeur Jehan Real). 8vo. (Nodier, 1091—Didot (1883), 425.)
1542. Paris, N. Duchemin (imprimeur Jehan Real), 8vo. (R. C. C.)

(The two editions last cited are the same but with different title-pages. They were no doubt a joint speculation of Longis and Duchemin. The same remark applies to the two editions of 1547, to the two Paris editions of 1549, and probably to others.)

1543. Lyon, Frellon. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1545. Paris, Nicolas Duchemin. 24mo. (Bib. Nat.)
1545. Paris, Gilles Corrozet. 16mo. (Chatsworth Library.)
1547. Paris, Guillaume Le Bret. At the end on page 307, *Imprimé par Guillaume Thibout.* 16mo. (Chatsworth Library.)
1547. Paris, Jehan Ruelle. At the end on page 307, *Imprimé par Guillaume Thibout.* 16mo. (R.C.C.)
1547. Paris, Est. Groulleau. 16mo. (Graesse.)
1549. Lyon, Thibauld Payan. 16mo. (Limoges Library.)
1549. Paris, Guillaume Le Bret. At the end, *Imprimé par Maurice Menier.* 16mo. (Née de la Rochelle.)
1549. Paris, Jehan Ruelle. At the end, *Imprimé par Maurice Menier.* 16mo. (Bib. Nat.)
1549. Lyon, Jean de Tournes et Guillaume Gazeau. 16mo. (R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.)
1549. Lyon, Gu. Rouille. 12mo. (Graesse.)
1559. Paris, Menier. 16mo. (Graesse.)
1560. Lyon, Thibaud Payen. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1561. Lyon, Guillaume Rouille, but at end *Imprime par Francoys Gaillard.* (R. C. C.)
1569. Chambéry? 16mo. (Boulmier.)
s. a. Paris, Buon. (Maittaire.)

Reprints including the Translations of Fr. de Belle Forest.

1561. Lyon, Jac. Cotier. 16mo. (Lyons Library.)
1566. Paris, H. le Bé. 12mo. (Brunet.—Maccarthy, 2323.—Didot (1884), 385.)
1569. Paris, Jacques D'Arbilly. 12mo. (Née de la Rochelle, 128.—Artur, 1141.)
1569. Paris, Est. Anastace. 12mo. (Graesse.)
1572. Paris, Vincent Norment et Janne Bruneau. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1572. Paris, Buon. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1573. Lyon, Loys Cloquemin et Estienne Michel. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1579. Lyon, Loys Cloquemin. 16mo. (Lyons Library.)
1585. Lugd. apud Ant. Gryphium. 16mo. (Orléans Library.)
1585. Paris, Claude Micard. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1591. Lyon, Rigaud, 'ex typis J. Roussin.' 16mo. (Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, 3me série, p. 424.)
1592. Lyon, Jacob Stoer. 16mo. (Limoges and Grenoble Libraries.)
1618. Cologni (Geneva), Jacob Stoer. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1623. Rouen, Bogard. 12mo. (Brunet.)
1624. Rouen, Richard l'Allemand. (Bib. Nat.)
1624. Rouen, Manassez de Preaulx. 16mo. (R. C. C.)
1630. Rouen, Jean de la Mare. 16mo. (Née de la Rochelle.)

56. **La maniere** de Bien traduire d'une langue en aultre. D'advantage. De la punctuation de la langue Francoyse. Plus des accents d'ycelle. Le tout faict par **Estienne Dolet**, natif d'Orleans. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Dolet mesme. M.D.XLII. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

4to. Roman letters. 40 pp. Signatures a-e twos. Last page unnumbered, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. de l'Arsenal.

The third edition given by Dolet, and an exact reprint of that of 1541.

57. **La Plaisante** et Joyeuse histoyre du Grand Geant **Gargantua**, Prochainement reveu et de beaucoup augmentee par l'autheur mesme. [*Woodcut representing men and boys singing from a music book.*] A Lyon, ches Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo. Roman letters. Woodcuts. 288 pp. (last 6 pp. unnumbered). pp. 2-282, text of Gargantua; 1 p. *Cest œuvre fut imprimé l'an de grace Mil cinq cents quarente & deux. A Lyon, chez Estienne Dolet, demeurant pours lors en la Rue Merciere a l'enseigne de la Doleuere D'or*; 1 page, mark, not in border, but with **Scabra dolo** on the margin of the axe; underneath, *Dolet. Preserve moy*, etc. 4 pp. blank. Then follows:—

Pantagruel, Roy des Dipsodes, Restitué à son naturel: avec ses faictz & prouesses espouuentables: composés par feu M. Alcofribas abstracteur de quintessence. Plus les merveilleuses navigations du disciple de Pantagruel dict Panurge. A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542.

16mo. Roman letters. Woodcuts. 352 pp. (last 2 pp. unnumbered). p. 2, *Dixain de M. Hugues Salel a l'autheur de ce livre*; pp. 3-7, *Prologue de l'autheur*; 8-231, text divided

into xxxii. chapters ; 232-251, *Pantagrueline Prognostication* ; 1 p. blank and unnumbered ; 253-350 *Le voyage et navigation que fist Panurge* ; 1 p. blank ; 1 p. mark with **Scabra dolo** on the margin of the axe ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Bib. Nat.—R. C. C. (Pantagruel only).

58. **Les Œuvres de Clement Marot** de Cahors, valet de chambre du Roy. Augmentées d'ung grand nombre de ses compositions nouvelles, par cy-devant non imprimées. Le tout songneusement par luy mesmes reveu et mieulx ordonné comme l'on voyrra cy apres. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige du Roy pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Roman letters. 648 pp. (Folios numbered but with many errors.) Signatures a-z, A-R fours, s two. ff. 2. 3, Epistle of Marot to Dolet ; 4 (a), Latin odes of N. Bourbon and N. Bérauld. Last page mark of Dolet ; underneath, *Estienne Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

59. **L'Enfer de Clement Marot** de Cahors en Quercy, valet de chambre du Roy. Item aulcunes Ballades et Rondeaulx appartenants à largument. Et en oultre plusieurs aultres compositions du dict Marot, par cy-devant non imprimées. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 64 pp. (Last three unnumbered, pagination full of mistakes.) Signatures A-D. pp. 3, 4, *Estienne Dolet à Lyon Jamet* ; pp. 5-61, *L'Enfer* and the other poems ; 1 p. unnumbered, *Cest œuvre fut imprimé l'an de grace Mil cinq cents quarante et deux. A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, demeurant pour lors en Rue Merciere à l'enseigne de la Dolouere D'or.* (My copy ends here, but there clearly should be another folio, on the verso of which no doubt would be the mark of Dolet.)

R. C. C.

60. **L'Amie** de Court. Nouvellement inventée par le Seigneur **de la Borderie.** [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 40 pp. Signatures A, B fours, C two. pp. 3, 4, Preface of Dolet dated May 5, 1542 ; 5-36, *L'Amie de Court* ; 37, *A l'ung de ses amys* ; 38, *Enigme* ; 1 folio (wanting in my copy, but the recto would no doubt be blank, and the verso would have the mark of Dolet as in the edition of 1543).

R. C. C.

I cannot point to any copy of this or the next article except my own (formerly Didot's).

61. **La Parfaicte** Amye. Nouvellement composée par **Antoine Heroet dict la Maison neufve.** Avec plusieurs aultres compositions du dict Autheur. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 96 pp. Signatures A-F fours. pp. 3, 4, Preface of Dolet

dated June 1, 1542; 3-63 (39 repeated), *La parfaicte amye*; 64-79, *L'Androgyne de Platon. Nouvellement traduict de Latin en Francoys par Antoine Hercet dict la maison neufve.* Last page mark; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

R. C. C. (First folio in MS. facsimile.)

62. **Du Mespris** de la Court: & de la louange de la vie Rusticque. Nouvellement traduict d'Hespaignol en Francoys. [*Mark of Dolet with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avecq privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. 176 pp. Signatures A-L fours. pp. 3-5, Dedication of the translator, Antoine Alaigre, to G. Du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, dated May 1, 1542; p. 6, Au Lecteur; 7, 8, Table; 9-170, text; 2 pp. blank; 1 p., *Ce present œuvre fut achevé d'Imprimer, à Lyon l'an de grace mil cinq cents quarante & deux. Chés Estienne Dolet, demeurant pour lors en rue Merciere a la Doleuere D'or*; 1 p. mark of Dolet; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc. (Should be another blank folio.)

R. C. C.—Roanne Library.

This is probably the first edition of the translation of Alaigre, though another edition also appeared in the same year at Lyons from the press of Pierre de Tours. It was reprinted the following year by de Tournes (R. C. C.), and also by Fr. Juste.

63. **Cry de la guerre** ovverte entre le roy de France et l'Empereur Roy des Hespaignes. Et ce à cause des grandes, execrables, et estranges injures cruaultez et inhumanitez, des quelles le dict Empereur a usé envers le Roy et mesmement envers ses ambassadeurs: a cause aussi des pays, qu'il luy detient et occupe indeument et injustement. Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542.

Sm. 4to. 4ff. Mark of Dolet on the last page.

Potier, 1974.—Cat. of St. Goar (Frankfort, 1877), No. 1520. In the Supplement to Brunet a copy is cited as sold at the Conod sale.

A copy of an edition of this manifesto of Francis I., printed by Poncet le Preux, Paris, s. a., which MM. Deschamps and Brunet state to be a re-impression of that of Dolet, is in the Bib. Nat., but it seems to me probable that that of Poncet le Preux is the original. In this edition the manifesto is dated *Ligny*, 10 *July* 1542. Le Long (*Bib. Hist. de la France*) cites this manifesto under the date 1542, but as in 8vo and without the printer's name.

64. **Discours** contenant le seul et vray moyen par lequel ung serviteur favorisé & constitué au service d'ung prince, peult conserver sa felicité eternelle, & temporelle, & eviter les choses qui luy pourroyent l'une ou l'aultre faire perdre. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avecq Privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Roman letters. Signatures A, B fours. pp. 3-6, *A Monseigneur de l'Estrange, Estienne Dolet humble salut*; 7-31, text. Last page mark; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

R. C. C.

Du Verdier attributes the authorship of this book to Dolet, but it appears from the dedication that he was not the author. Dolet says that the *discours* 'est plein de prudence

accompagnée d'une telle ardeur envers la loi de Dieu que bien cognoissoit et bien observait l'autheur de cet ouvrage.'

65. **La** Chirurgie de **Paulus Ægineta.** Nouvellement traduicte de Grec en Françoys. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 208 pp. Signatures a-n.

R. C. C.—Bib. de Bordeaux.

This is a reprint of the first part of the volume of translations made by P. Tolet, originally printed by Dolet in 1540. Brunet erroneously states that it includes the *Opuscules* of Galen. This is an error; reprints of the *Opuscules* were given separately by Dolet. (See the two following articles.)

66. **Des Tumeurs** oultre le coustumier de Nature. Opuscule nouvellement traduict de Grec en Latin: et de Latin en Françoys. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 32 pp. pp. 3-26, text; 6 pp. unnumbered; 1st, *Ce present Opuscule a esté traduict par Maistre Pierre Tolet, medecin de l'hospital de Lyon. Et par luy aussi a este traduict haultre opuscule de Galien intitulé De la maniere de curer par phlebotomie*; 2nd, blank; 3rd, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc. 3 last pages blank.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

This *Opuscule*, as well as the next article, had before been printed by Dolet in 1540 with *La Chirurgie* of Paulus Ægineta.

67. **De la Raison** de curer par evacuation de sang. Autheur **Galien.** Œuvre nouvellement traduict de Grec en Latin: et de Latin en Françoys. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 64 pp. Signatures A-D fours. pp. 3-54, text; 55-63, *Petits traictes propres à la medicine. Autheur Galien* (*Des Sangsues. De revulsion. Des ventouscs. De scarification*). Last page unnumbered, mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

Again separately reprinted *à Lyon ches Sulpice Sabon pour Antoine Constantin sans date.* (Yemeniz, 781), 1545 was subsequently impressed on the unsold copies. See Baudrier, *Bibl. Lyon*, 2me Série, pp. 30, 36.

68. **Deux Livres** des Simples de **Galien.** C'est asscavoir, Le cinquiesme, Et le neufviesme. Nouvellement traduicts de Latin en Francoys par Monsieur Maistre Jehan Canappe, Docteur en Medicine. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Italic letters. 164 pp. (p. 89 repeated and last but one numbered 162). 3-6, *Le translateur au lecteur.* Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

Reprinted at Lyons in 1570 by Durelle for Rigaud. Baudrier, *Bibl. Lyon*, 3me Série, p. 265.

69. **Prologue** & chapitre singulier de tres excellent Docteur en medecine & Chirurgie Maistre **Guidon de Cauliac.** Le tout nouvellement traduict & illustré de commentaires par Maistre Jehan Canappe, Docteur en Medecine & lecteur public des Chirurgiens à Lyon. [*Mark with motto.*] Chés Estienne Dolet à Lyon, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Text of Guidon Roman letters, Commentary of Canappe Italics. 128 pp. Sig. A-H fours. pp. 3-6, preface of Canappe. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.

70. **Le Livre** des Presaiges du Divin **Hyppocrates** divisé en troys parties. Item La protestation que le dict Hyppocrates faisoit faire à ses disciples. Le tout nouvellement translaté par Maistre **Pierre Vernei,** Docteur en Medecine. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon chés Estienne Dolet, 1542.

Sm. 8vo. Italic letters. 40 pp. Signatures A-B, fours, C two. p. 3 (unnumbered), *La vie d'Hyppocrates*; pp. 4-6, *La protestation et jurement du Divin & Maistre des Medecins Hyppocrates*; 7-38, Translation of the *Presaiges*, ending on p. 38 with *Imprimé à Lyon par Estienne Dolet, pour lors demeurant en Rue Merciere a l'enseigne de la Doloire. L'an de grace Mil cinq cents quarante & deux.* 1 page blank, last page mark; underneath, *Doletus, Durior*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.
Brunet is in error in only giving to this book 38 pp. '*y compris l'emblème de Dolet.*' It should consist, as above stated, of 40 pp. The book is a reprint of a volume printed at Lyons in 1539 by Pierre de Saincte Lucie, some copies of which have *Nicolas Petit* on the title-page as the bookseller, others *Jehan Mousnier*. One of these with Petit's name is in my possession.

71. **Tables** Anatomicques du corps humain universel; soit de l'homme ou de la femme. Premierement composées en Latin par Maistre **Loys Vassée**; et depuis traduites en Francoys par Maistre **Jehan Canappe.** [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1542. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Italic letters. 248 pp. (carelessly numbered, last p. numbered 309). Signatures A-Q. pp. 3-10, An epistle headed *Maistre Jehan Canappe Docteur en Medecine au lecteur Chirurgien salut.* It is dated *Lyon ce premier jour de Juillet l'an de Salut mil cinq cents quarante & ung.*
R. C. C.—Orléans Library.
It was reprinted by Angelier, Paris, 1544 (Bib. Mazarine), and again by M. Fezendat (for J. Foucher), Paris, 1555 (Bib. de Rouen). Du Verdier mentions a reprint by Jean de Tournes, Lyon, 1552.
La Croix du Maine erroneously treats as two distinct books *L'Anatomie du Corps humain* and *Les tables anatomiques.* He is also in error (as is La Monnoye) in stating that the author of

the original is *Jean* and not Loys Vassée. Jean and Loys Vassée or Vassæus were contemporaries. Jean was of Meaux, Louis of Chalons. Each wrote on medical subjects, but Louis is the author of the *Tabulæ*.

M.D.XLIII.

72. **C. Ivlii Cæsaris** Commentarii. Quæ in hac habeantur editione sequens pagina demonstrabit. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud Steph. Doletum, 1543.

8vo. Italic letters. 656 pp. 64 pp. prelim. comprising the prefaces of Secundus and Aldus, the usual plates and maps, *nomina locorum*, and *Index rerum*. pp. 1-524, text of Cæsar and Hirtius. 67 pp. unnumbered, Index; 1 p. mark; underneath, *Doletus*, *Durior*, etc.

R. C. C.—Brussels Library.—Orléans Library.

An exact reprint page for page of the editions given by Seb. Gryphius, but badly and carelessly printed with a coarse type, and on coarse paper.

73. **Observationes** in Terentii Comœdias nempe Andriam: et item Eunuchum. Steph. **Doleto** Gallo Aurelio Autore. [*Mark with motto.*] Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1543. Cum privilegio ad decennium.

8vo. Italic letters. 176 pp. (17 unnumbered at end). Sig. A-L. Last page mark; underneath, *Doletus*, *Durior*, etc.

An exact reprint of the edit. of 1540.

R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.

74. **Les Questions Tusculanes** de M. T. Ciceron. Œuvre tresutile & necessaire pour resister a toute vitieuse passion d'esprit; & parvenir au mespris, & contemnement de la mort. Nouvellement traduict de Latin en Francoys par **Estienne Dolet**, natif D'Orleans. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, ches Estienne Dolet, 1543. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Roman letters. 240 pp. Sig. a-p fours. 13 pp. prelim. unnumbered, Epistle to the king. 1 p. Huictain. pp. 1-224, Translation of the first three books of the Tusculans, ending (on p. 224) with *Fin du Troysiesme livre.*

Dôle Library.

Reprinted at least five times:—

1544. Paris, J. Ruelle. 16mo. (R. C. C.)

1544. No place or printer's name. 16mo. (Lyons Library.)

1545. Paris, Guillaume Le Bret. 16mo. (R. C. C.—Bib. Maz.)

1545. Paris, Benoit Prevost? 16mo. (Orellius, *Onomasticon Tullianum.*)

1548. Paris, J. Ruelle. 16mo. (R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.)

(1549). Lyon, Sulpice Sabon pour Antoine Constantin. Sm. 8vo. (R. C. C.—Brit. Mus.) This edition had originally no date, but 1549 was subsequently impressed on the unsold copies. Baudrier, *Bibl. Lyon.* 2me Série, pp. 31-37.

None of these reprints contain Dolet's preface, or anything more than the first three books.

75. **La Maniere** de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre, D'advantage de la Punctuation de la langue Francoise ; plus des Accens d'icelle. Le tout faict par Estienne **Dolet**, natif D'Orleans. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Dolet mesme, 1543.

An exact reprint in every respect of the edition of 1541.
Sunderland, (uncut) 4007 ; £12—Bib. Hohendorfiana, part ii. No. 203.

76. **Les Gestes** de Francoys de Valois Roy de France. Dedans lequel Œuvre on peult congnoistre tout ce qui a esté faict par les Francoys depuis l'An Mil cinq cents treize jusques en l'An Mil cinq cents quarante & troys. Premierement composé en Latin par Estienne **Dolet** ; et apres par luy mesmes translaté en Langue Francoyse. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chès Estienne Dolet, 1543. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

4to (but much smaller than the edit. of 1540). Roman letters. 96 pp. Sig. A-F fours. Pp. 2-74 same as in the edition of 1540, except that on p. 74 a paragraph is added glorifying France and its invincibility ; 75-94, *Le tiers livre* (continuing the history for the years 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542. Unnumbered page, *Au lecteur* (as in edit. of 1540). Last page mark ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.
R. C. C.—Bib. Nat.—Brit. Mus.
For the subsequent reprints of this book see *ante*, p. 526.

77. **Les Œuvres de Clement Marot** de Cahors, Valet de Chambre du Roy. Augmentées d'ung grand nombre de ses compositions nouvelles, par cy-devant non imprimées. Le tout soigneusement par luy mesmes reveu & mieulx ordonné comme l'on voyra cy apres. [*Mark without border or motto, but with the words* **Scabra dolo** *on the edge of the axe.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1543. Avec privileige du Roy pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Roman letters. 760 pp. (folios numbered 2-304 and 1-76). On the verso of last folio (76) mark of Dolet ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.
Lyons Library.
It escaped the notice of Brunet that twenty psalms are contained in the second part of this volume, and there seems every probability that they appeared for the first time in this edition. No previous edition of the works of Marot contained more than thirty psalms, and it is doubtful whether the edition of the psalms alone, dated 1543, was printed before this.

78. **L'Amie** de Court. Nouvellement inventée par le Seigneur **de la Borderie.** [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1543.

8vo. Roman letters. 40 pp. Sig. A. B fours, C two. Recto of last leaf blank, verso mark ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.
Dôle Library.

79. **La parfaicte** Amye. Nouvellement composee par **Antoine Heroet,** dict la Maison neufve. Avec plusieurs aultres compositions du dict Autheur. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, ches Estienne Dolet, 1543. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Sm. 8vo. Roman letters. 96 pp. numbered 2-94 (48 being repeated and last p. unnumbered). Sig. A-F fours. Last page mark ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Bib. Nat. (Imperfect, wanting the two preliminary pages containing Dolet's preface).—Dôle Library.

80. **Du Mespris** de la Court & de la Louange de la vie Rustique. Nouvellement traduict d'Hespaignol en Francoys. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1543. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

8vo. Roman letters. 112 pp. Sig. A-G. Last page mark ; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Dôle Library.

Erroneously cited by De Bure (followed by Née de la Rochelle and Boulmier) as of the year 1545.

M.D.XLIV.

81. **Le Second Enfer d'Estienne Dolet,** natif d'Orleans. Qui sont certaines compositions faictes par luy mesmes sur la justification de son second emprisonnement. A Lyon, 1544. Avec privileige pour dix ans.

Very small 8vo or 16mo. Roman letters. 104 pp. unnumbered. Signatures A-F fours, G two. (G II by mistake printed F II.) Reverse of title, *Au lecteur. Apres l'enfer tu trouveras deux dialogues de Plato scavoir*, etc. ; 4 pp., *Estienne Dolet a ses meilleurs amys humble salut*, ending with *Escript en ce monde ce premier jour de May l'an de la redemption humaine mil cinq cens quarante et quatre* ; 44 pp. the *Enfer*. Then (on D II) *Deulx Dialogues de Platon, Philosophie Divin et supernaturel, Scavoir est L'ung intitulé Axiochus Qui est des miseres de la vie humaine et de l'immortalité de l'ame. Et par consequence du mespris de la mort. Item ung aultre, intitulé Hipparchus qui est de la convoitise de l'Homme touchant la lucratifve. Le tout nouvellement traduict en langue Francoyse par Estienne Dolet, natif D'Orleans*, 1544. Reverse, *Estienne Dolet a ceulx de sa nation*, '*C'est assés vescu en tenebres*,' etc. ; 5 pp. *Dolet Au Roy Treschretien* ; 24 pp. and part of 25, Translation of Axiochus headed *Du mespris et contemnement de la mort.* At the end of the 25th page and on the 18 following pages translation of Hipparchus, *De la convoitise et affection de gaigner* ; 3 pp., *Aulcuns Dicts et sentences notables de Platon* ; 1 p. blank.

Bib. Mazarine.

MM. Deschamps et Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, Supplement, tom. ii. col. 1017) are in error in stating '*il n'en existe qu'un seul exempl.* qui faisait partie du cabinet Cigongne (No. 776 du catal.) et que possède aujourd'hui le duc d'Aumale,' there being as above stated a copy in the Bibliothèque Mazarine (No. 21994) from which the above description is taken.

Immediately after the appearance of the book it was reprinted at Troyes (see *ante*, p. 457). The following is the description of this edition :—

Le Second Enfer d'Estienne Dolet, natif D'Orleans. Qui sont certaines compositions faictes par lui mesmes, sur la justification de son second emprisonnement. [*Mark of N. Paris, a boy falling from a tree.*] A Troyes, par maistre Nicole Paris, 1544.

Very small 8vo. Roman letters (rather larger than those of the Lyons edition). 64 pp. 1, 2, unnumbered, also last p. unnumbered. Signatures A-D fours. Reverse of title, *Au lecteur, Apres l'enfer de Dolet, tu trouveras une epistre en rhithme françoise faicte et composee par Clement Marot, et par lui envoyée a Monseigneur le Daulphin qui est d'ung mesme argument; car par icelle il prie le dict seigneur, qu'il luy plaise tant faire envers le roy son pere que par son moyen le dict Marot retourne en France avec sa premier liberté. Item plusieurs aultres belles compositions pleines de grand profict, et de singulier recreation pour l'esperit de l'Homme*; pp. 3-6, *Estienne Dolet a ses meilleurs et principaulx amys humble salut*; 7-48, The *Enfer*; 49-63, Seven poems of Clément Marot, the first being the *Epistre envoyee a Monseigneur le Daulphin*. Last page unnumbered; mark of N. Paris. [Then follow according to Brunet, 46 pages, numbered 49 to 95, containing *Deux dialogues de Platon . . . scavoir est l'ung intitulé Axiochus . . . item un autre intitulé Hipparchus. Le tout traduict par Estienne Dolet*, 1544.]

Bib. Nat.

A second copy is in the Versailles Library, and a third from which the description in Brunet is taken, was formerly in the collection of M. de Lurde, No. 97, and afterwards in that of the Baron de Ruble (Supplement to Brunet, tom. ii. col. 1018). A third copy, formerly existing in the public library of Troyes, and for many years supposed to be unique, has now disappeared (*Recherches sur l'établissement et l'exercise de l'imprimerie à Troyes, par Corrard de Breban*, 3me edit., Paris, 1873). This copy, however, like that in the Bib. Nat., did not contain the Dialogues.

Having regard to the following facts, (1) that on the reverse of the title-page of this edition the poems of Marot are indicated as forming part of the volume, but that no mention is made of the Dialogues; (2) that the number of pages, *i.e.* 47, occupied by the Dialogues is the same in each; (3) that the pagination is inconsistent with the presence of *both* the compositions of Marot and the Dialogues; and (4) that the mark of Nicole Paris appears at the end of the poems of Marot, but not at the end of the Dialogues which form the concluding part of the book, I am led to the conclusion that Nicole Paris printed only the *Second Enfer*, the *Epistre*, and other compositions of Marot, and that with the copy of the Baron de Ruble, a copy of the Dialogues from the edition of Lyons is bound up.

A copy of an edition under the same date as the three above mentioned, but with one remarkable peculiarity, was in the collection of the Marquis de Ganay. (Sold at his sale in 1881, No. 109 to M. Durel for 1000 fr.) It was first mentioned by M. Aimé Martin in his *Réhabilitation* (p. 19), and has since been more clearly described in Brunet (art. Dolet), and in the Supplement of MM. Deschamps and Brunet. The title is precisely the same as that of the edition of Lyons, with *Lyon* as the place of the impression, but on the last page is the mark of Nicole Paris. According to the Supplement to Brunet it is a small octavo, 95 pp., round letters, different from those of the Lyons edition, and the same as those of the edition of Troyes. Having had no opportunity of seeing the Marquis de Ganay's copy, I cannot speak with any certainty, but I think it probable that this is a copy of the Troyes edition with the title-page of that of Lyons.

There have been two modern reprints of the *Second Enfer* and the *Dialogues*, the first given by Techener in 1830, preceded by the *Réhabilitation* of M. Aimé Martin.

1. Le Second Enfer d'Estienne Dolet, Natif d'Orleans. Qui sont certaines compositions faictes par luy mesmes sur la justification de son second emprisonnement. A Lyon, 1544. Avec Privilege pour dix ans.

Of this only 120 copies were printed.

2. Le Second Enfer d'Etienne Dolet, suivi de sa traduction des deux Dialogues Platoniciens, L'Axiochus et l'Hipparchus. Notice Bio-bibliographique par un Bibliophile. Paris, a la librairie de l'Academie des Bibliophiles 10, Rue de la Bourse, 10. Bruxelles, Librairie Européenne de C. Muquardt, Place Royale, 1868. (237 copies only printed.)

Besides what is stated on the title, this volume contains a reprint of the Cantique (with the mark of Dolet on the false title), and of the epitaph beginning *Mort est Dolet, et par feu consumé.*

82. **Les Louanges** du sainct nom de Jesus par **Victor Brodeau,** plus une Epistre d'ung pescheur a Jesus Christ faicte par le dict Brodeau. A Lyon, chez Estienne Dolet, 1544.

Small 8vo (or 16mo). Gothic letters. 64 pp. On the 64th page the mark of Dolet.

Brunet, Supplement, vol. i. col. 176, and vol. ii. col. 992. A copy in which the title was wanting is there cited as sold at the sale Desbarreaux-Bernard. The only other authority cited by MM. Deschamps and Brunet, and the only one known to me, is the catalogue of books censured in 1551, where it appears *ex libris Victor Brodeau*, as 'Une epître du Pécheur à Jésus Christ, imprimée à Lyon par Dolet' (D'Argentré, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 173), from which it would seem either that Dolet only printed the *Epître* and not the *Louanges*, or that the former only, and not the latter, contained matter for censure. Two editions of the book are cited in Brunet: one, Lyon, chez Sulpice Sabon pour Ant. Constantin (1540); the other, Lyon, Oliver Arnoullet, 1543. I have found the following in the Bib. Mazarine:—

Les Louanges de Jesus nostre Saulveur Œuvre tres excellent Divin et elegant. Compose par Maistre Victor Brodeau, secretaire et valet de chambre du Treschrestien Roy de France Francoys premier de ce nom: et de et haulte Princesse La Royne de Navarre, sœur unique du d Seigneur. Avec Les Louanges de la Glorieux Vierge Marie. Nouvellement Imprime veu & corrige Lan de la Nativité Jesus Christ M.D.XL. (Small 8vo or 16mo. Gothic letters on coarse paper. 44 pp.)

83. **L'Enfer de Clement Marot** de Cahors en Quercy, Valet de Chambre du Roy. Item aulcunes Ballades & Rondeaulx appartenants à l'argument. Et en oultre plusieurs aultres compositions du dict Marot par cy-devant non imprimées. [*Mark with motto.*] A Lyon, chés Estienne Dolet, 1544. Avec privileige du roy.

8vo. Roman letters. 64 pp. Signatures A-D fours. A reprint of the edition of 1542. On p. 53, *Huictain faict a Ferrare*, ending *Qu'ilz ne vouldroyent, que je feusse loing d'elle.* Immediately below is the signature D 3 and the word *Le* as catchword for the next page; then follow (clearly by mistake) seven lines beginning (*Presque periz*) *les lettres & Lettrés*, and ending *Bacchus aussi sa bonne vigne y plante*, followed by the catchword *Par.* These seven lines and catchword are a repetition of the last seven lines and catchword of p. 28, which are here by mistake repeated. Last page, mark; underneath, *Dolet, Preserve moy*, etc.

Bib. Nat.

84. **Les psalmes** du royal prophete David, traduictz par Clement

Marot. Avec aultres petits Ouvrages par luy mesme. Lyon, Estienne Dolet, 1544.

16mo. 172 and 46 pp.

Bib. de Berlin. (*Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot, par O. Douen*, vol. 1, p. 449, vol. 2, p. 508.)

Cantica Canticorum en François.

This title appears in the catalogue of books censured in 1551 under the heading *Ex Libris Stephani Dolet*, and (no doubt on the authority of this catalogue) is inserted in the list of Dolet's books given by La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, and from them has passed into Le Long's *Bib. Sacra* and the lists of Née de la Rochelle and Boulmier. But I can find no other trace of its existence, and I think it probable that the author of the catalogue has taken *Les Cantiques* given in Dolet's edition of *Les Psalmes du Royal prophete David* (No. 45) for a translation of the *Cantica Canticorum*.

Exposition de l'evangile de notre seigneur J. C. selon S. Matthieu translatée de latin en francoys et nouvellement imprimée. 1540.

8vo. Gothic letters.

On the authority of the *Catalogue des Livres de M. M.*[*aréchal*] (Paris, Techener, 1850), No. 14, where this book appears as having on the title *A Lyon chés Estienne Dolet*, I included it in the first edition of the present work, in the catalogue of books printed by Dolet. M. Douen in his *Étienne Dolet; ses opinions religieuses* (Paris, 1881) has however remarked that these words do not appear on the title, and upon examining the copy in the Mazarine Library to which M. Douen refers, I agree with him that there is no ground for attributing it to Dolet. According to M. T. H. Dufour (*Le Catéchisme Français de Calvin*, p. CCLXXV), a licence was granted by the Council of Geneva on the 12th of March, 1540, to John Michel to print this book.

Exposition sur la premiere Epître de S. Jean, divisée par sermons.

The title of this book is inserted in the catalogue of books censured March 2, 1542 (1543), and in 1551 (D'Argentré, tom. ii. pt. 1. pp. 134, 174), in the latter of which it is included among those *ex libris Stephani Dolet*. It is also mentioned by La Croix du Maine among the works of Dolet, and accordingly I inserted it in the first edition of this book among the volumes printed by Dolet, but I am again indebted to M. Douen for a correction. He has called my attention to a copy of the book in the Mazarine Library, which is certainly not printed by Dolet, but as M. Douen thinks is the work of J. Michel of Geneva, though the name of the printer does not appear.

Cantique d'Estienne Dolet, prisonnier a la Conciergerie de Paris sur sa desolation et sur sa consolation. Dolet. Imprimé L'an M.D.XLVI.

Such is the title of the Cantique given by Brunet, Boulmier, and the editions given by Guiraudet in 1829 and by Techener in 1830. Brunet describes the original of this Cantique as '*fort rare*,' and Boulmier as '*excessivement rare*'; neither of them indicate where a copy is to be found, and it is clear that no edition of 1546 ever existed. It was first printed by

Née de la Rochelle in his *Vie de Dolet*, p. 142, with the following title and note : 'Cantique d'Estienne Dolet, prisonnier en la Conciergerie de Paris l'an 1546 sur sa désolation et sur sa consolation : en vers.

'Ce petit ouvrage est sans contredit le plus rare de tous ceux de Dolet ; car personne que je sache, n'en parlé ; et j'avoue que je ignorerois son existence sans M. Guillaume Debure, qui ayant appris que je travaillois à la vie de Dolet, m'a offert obligeamment la copie manuscrite qu'il en possédoit. *Je ne crois pas qu'il ait jamais été* imprimé ; c'est pourquoi je vais l'annexer à cet article afin que les Curieux jouissent aussi du sacrifice de M. Debure, et pour empêcher que ce Cantique ne se perde à l'avenir. . .

'L'ancienneté de cette copie se prouve par l'écriture, qui est absolument semblable à celle d'un manuscrit daté de 1535 que je posséde ; aussi je ne crains point d'en garantir l'authenticité.'

It has been since four times reprinted :—

1. By Guiraudet, Paris, 1829. 12mo. Guiraudet was the first to put in *imprimé l'an* 1546, which has since been followed in the other re-impressions and in other books.
2. By Techener, 1830. (120 copies only.)
3. In M. Boulmier's *Estienne Dolet*.
4. With the *Second Enfer*, Paris and Brussels, 1868.

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